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ABSTRACT

The first in a series of five handbooks designed to present and analyze statistical data on women in various regions of the world, this handbook focuses on women in 21 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Beginning with an overview of population characteristics of the regions, the analysis continues with a description of women's literacy and education, their labor force participation, their marital status and living arrangements, their fertility, and their mortality. Information is presented not only in tables, charts, and text, but also in narrative form, offering a critique on concepts, availability, and quality of the data assembled on each variable. Findings show that while the death rate does not vary significantly by subregion (the Caribbean, Middle America, and South America), differences in population growth result from variations in levels of fertility and international migration, with birth rates being relatively high in Middle America, where emigration is lower, and lower in the Caribbean, where emigration is higher. While the differences in literacy rates between the sexes are substantial, the gap between urban and rural rates for either sex is larger still. Statistics showed a far lower participation of women than men in the formal labor force. Women's principal power and influence continue to be exercised in the domains of the family and the household, even though increasing numbers are entering the work force. Appendices contain a bibliography listing over 200 documents; a list of tables in the Women in Development Data Base; and tables showing population by age, sex, and rural/urban residence. (LH)

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WOMEN OF THE WORLD

Latin America and the Caribbean

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WID-1

WOMEN OF THE WORLD

Latin America and the Caribbean

by Elsa M. Chaney

This report was prepared under a Resources Support Services Agreement with the Office of Women in Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development.

Issued May 1984

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Abbreviations Used in This Report

ASFR: Age specific fertility rate (the average annual number of births to women in a given age group during a specified period of time per 1,000 women in the same age group, based on midperiod population).

CBR: Crude birth rate (the average annual number of births during a specified period of time per 1,000 persons, based on midperiod population).

CELADE: United Nations, Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (Latin American Demographic Center). Santiago and San José.

CEPAL: Comisión Económica para América Latina (Economic Commission for Latin America).

CIR: Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

DUALabs: Data Use and Access Laboratories, Arlington, Virginia.

e_0: Life expectancy at birth (the average number of years to be lived by a birth cohort, if the mortality of each particular age remains constant in the future).

e_1: Life expectancy at age 1 (the average number of years of life remaining to a hypothetical cohort at age 1, if the mortality of each particular age remains constant in the future).

ESDS: Economic and Social Data Services, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development.

F/M ratio: Ratio of the female value to the male value for a given characteristic (for example, the ratio of the female percent literate to the male percent literate).

GNP: Gross national product (the value of all final goods and services produced in an economy during a specified period of time).

GRR: Gross reproduction rate (the average number of daughters born per woman in a group of women passing through the childbearing years and experiencing a given set of age-specific fertility rates. This rate implicitly assumes that all the women live to the end of the childbearing years. See also NRR.).

ILO: International Labour Office. Geneva.

NA: Data not available.

NRR: Net reproduction rate (a refinement of the gross reproduction rate that allows for mortality of women from birth to the end of their reproductive years).

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Paris.

TFR: Total fertility rate (the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates).

U.N.: United Nations.

UNDP: United Nations Development Program.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Paris.

USAID: United States Agency for International Development.

WID: Women in Development.

WID Data Base: Women In Development Data Base (a project of the U.S. Bureau of the Census).

WID Office: Office of Women In Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development.

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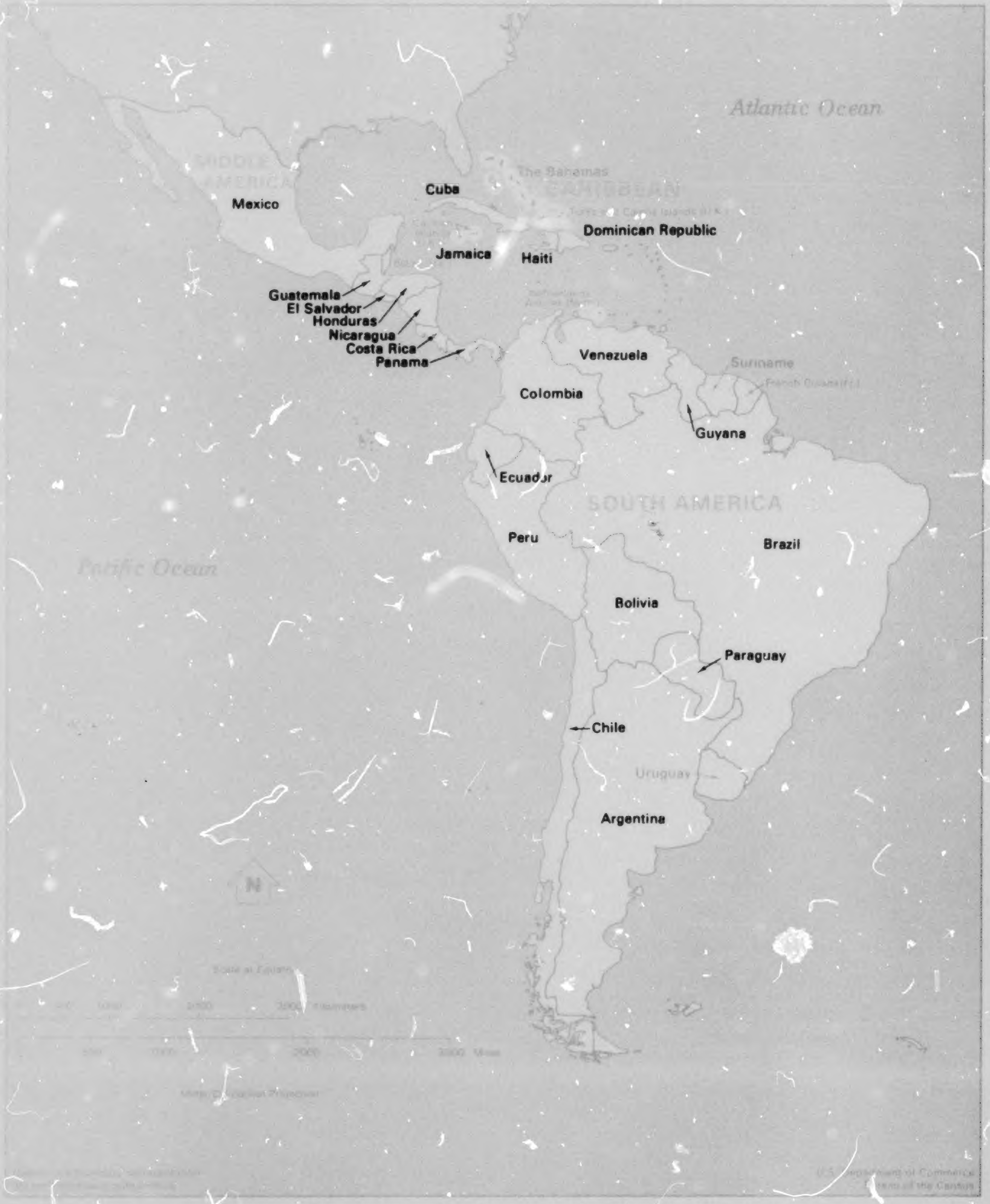
Latin America and the Caribbean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Chapter 1

Introduction

The *Women of the World* handbooks present and analyze statistical data on women in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Near East and North Africa. The handbooks are the latest product of the National Statistics on Women project of the Office of Women In Development, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The overall project has as its aim the compilation of an adequate data base on women in developing countries for planning, program development, and project design. It assists data-gathering efforts in developing countries and provides statistical information to international agencies, donor governments, host government development planners, and scholars, as well as to USAID's own policymakers and planners. A number of subactivities have been funded under this project, of which the *Women of the World* handbooks are one (Office of Women in Development, 1980, p. 68). The analysis of the current status of women as contained in these handbooks is offered to planners and others as a starting point against which they may assess the impact of programs and policies in the future. Without such a statistical background, the amount, direction, and significance of change is often only speculative. The analysis is based primarily on statistics in the Census Bureau's Women In Development Data Base (referred to hereafter as the WID Data Base).

The WID Data Base had its inception in 1977 when the Office of Women in Development became aware that economic and social data being gathered for storage as part of USAID's new Data Information and Utilization systems did not include any disaggregation by sex. At the same time, there was a new awareness that planners and policymakers needed hard data on women's situation in order to carry out the Percy Amendment of 1973 that directed USAID to give particular attention to programs, projects, and activities tending to integrate women into the total development effort.

In 1977, Section 108 of the International Development and Food Assistance Act directed USAID to "evaluate progress toward developing an adequate data base on the role of women in national economies of recipient countries." In response, the WID Office commissioned a preliminary survey of statistical information on women available both inside and outside of USAID (Biocentric, Inc., 1977). USAID was not alone in its efforts; about the same time, the United Nations Statistical Office sent a representative to visit statistical offices in selected developing countries to take a critical look at the way censuses were carried out, particularly measurement of female labor force participation, and to suggest alternatives (United Nations, 1980). Other related efforts were getting underway at about this time.[1]

To assess the impact on women of development projects and activities, as well as to program for women's contribution to the development enterprise, two kinds of data are necessary for planners. The first is a system of socioeconomic indicators derived from national statistics on an internationally comparable basis which describe the participation of women and girls in important aspects of national life and compare their participation to that of men and boys. The second is from sociological and anthropological studies on the position and status of women and girls within particular regions or cultural subgroups of a country. Both kinds of information are essential in developing meaningful programs and projects in host countries of differing cultural values.

USAID already had made some progress in providing the second type of information by commissioning a series of "status of women profiles" in many assisted countries. In most cases, these reports reviewed already existing studies carried out by sociologists, anthropologists and others; in some cases, original surveys were carried out. Many of these reports included quantitative as well as qualitative data; however, no systematic effort had been made to provide a data base on women derived from aggregated sources. Profiles on women produced under USAID auspices have been annotated and reviewed by Jaquette (1982).

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[1] Among related efforts are the production of a data sheet of basic statistics on women by the Population Reference Bureau (1980); a user file, compiled by the Center for Population Research, Georgetown University, under a subcontract from the Population Reference Bureau, on women's labor force participation, school enrollment, and fertility in developing countries (no analysis or interpretation is available), and a project through which DUALabs (contracted by the USAID Office of Population) is assisting national statistical offices in 10 developing countries to improve their data-gathering efforts on women and to produce reports on the status of women as part of their 1980 census round activities. In addition, DUALABS (1980 and 1981) has issued two documents on preparing census reports on women's status and roles, and on data needs, availability, and use.

In order to assist USAID to fulfill its Congressional mandate to evaluate the impact of development programs on the "incomes, productivity, and literacy of women, and the level or extent of their participation in the development process," the WID Office held several informal meetings with relevant offices during 1977-78. Out of these consultations grew the idea of gathering existing aggregate information of women's situation and potential contribution as an aid to planners. In close collaboration with USAID's Economic and Social Data Services (ESDS) and Office of Population, the WID Office decided to sponsor a search of existing raw data sets, primarily population censuses and vital statistics reports, supplemented by other national-level data-gathering efforts such as labor force, household, and agricultural surveys.

In 1978, a contract was awarded to the Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, to conduct a search on 19 variables, including demographic, educational, household and marital arrangements, and labor force topics. Each variable was chosen because of its key importance as an indicator of women's status, and because these particular variables appeared to be the ones that would be most readily available in census publications; special runs of census files were not contemplated because of the high cost. Whenever possible, information on each of the 19 variables was to be presented not only by sex but by age and rural/urban residence (see appendix B for a list of tables included in the WID Data Base).

The first data search included only the 69 countries where USAID had active programs. It was planned that after the initial search was completed, more countries would be added for purposes of comparison, and more variables if the initial search determined that sufficient information was available on other aspects of women's situation and activities. Subsequently, the WID Data Base was expanded to include all countries with populations of 5 million or more. Over 2,600 tables have been compiled on the 19 indicators, and these form the raw data base for these handbooks. Statistics come principally from the 1970 census rounds; in some cases, 1960 census round data are included.[2] Some information from the 1980 censuses is available at this time, and this has also been included whenever possible. To supplement the census data, the results of national surveys are also used for some topics.

Because the task was large and funds limited, not all variables in which the WID Office was interested could be searched. For example, it was decided not to include data on the labor force by occupation or industry, although these variables were placed on a second priority list for possible search at a later date. In retrospect, this omission probably was a mistake, which has been rectified in part in the handbooks by using occupational data from other sources. On the other hand, data on income were included among the 19 variables, but the search produced very little hard information; the inclusion probably was an error for the initial effort. The choice of variables was made jointly by the WID Office, the ESDS, and the Office of Population of USAID, in consultation with the Census Bureau.

The WID Data Base project always has been envisioned as an ongoing one. The data have now been integrated into the more comprehensive International Data Base of the Center for International Research, and updated information will be added on a continuing basis. A major disadvantage of population censuses and other national surveys as statistical sources for planning is the fact that complete results are often published only 3 to 7 years after the actual data gathering takes place. The handbooks present the latest available national statistics on women in standardized format and will serve as an important benchmark of women's status as statistics from the 1980 census round become available. Other national survey efforts will continue to be used in filling the information gaps in the data base and in expanding the coverage to other key variables in future years, including such initiatives as the World Fertility Survey, the National Household Survey Capability Program of the United Nations, the activities of the various regional U.N. Economic Commissions, and the next round of agricultural censuses. Chapter 2 discusses data availability and quality in greater detail.

Since the inception of the USAID/WID project, several other efforts have gone forward. Valuable critiques of the concepts, approaches, and data gathering methods used in producing statistics on women have been published, among them Baster (1981); Boulding (1983); the volume edited by Buvinić (1981), with articles by El Belghiti, Kisekka, Mitra, and Massiah; Buvinić and Sebstad (1980); International Center for Research on Women (1980c); Mueller (1983); two articles by Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1979 and 1982), and Youssef (1980). Recently, another series of articles was issued in connection with an Expert Group on Improving Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women, convened by the U.N. Statistical Office in 1983, including papers by Powers, Safilios-Rothschild, and Youssef.

Several consultations also preceded the work on the handbooks, not only with USAID, but with other organizations and persons working on the problem of improving data and indicators on women (Office of Women in Development, 1981b and 1982). As well, an evaluation of the Census Bureau's Data on Women project was carried out in 1981 (Newland and Williamson), which recommended that the data base be expanded beyond aid-recipient countries to make it more useful to researchers and other donors, that data more timely than the census statistics be used whenever alternative sources could be used with confidence, and that the proposed handbooks include information from other studies in order to highlight the problems inherent in conventional measures of women's activities. These recommendations have been carried out. A preliminary publication of tables and captioned charts was issued by the U.S. Bureau of the Census at the time of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women in Copenhagen, 1980.

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[2] A census round refers to a decade during which the various countries conduct their censuses; 1960 round censuses were taken during the period 1955 to 1964, 1970 round during 1965 to 1974. The 1980 round is still underway, referring to censuses taken during 1975 to 1984.

The WID Data Base originally was designed for USAID's policy and program planners; the decision to analyze and publish the data in the present series of *Women of the World* handbooks grew out of a desire not only to make the information more accessible to development planners outside USAID, but to share it with a wider audience. The handbooks are descriptive and exploratory in nature, although they do strive towards giving some hints at explanation. They are offered as a necessary first step towards more elaborate analyses. Time and budget restrictions prohibited cross-cultural comparison between and among the variables. Such comparisons are extremely complex, each requiring much more analysis than could be carried out for a publication which aims at giving a general overview of the WID Data Base. If one fact stands out in recent research, it is that there are few, if any, simple one-to-one causal relationships between two variables. As Youssef (1982, p. 178) points out in a recent exploration of the interrelationships between the division of labor in the household and women's roles, and their impact on fertility, few studies make clear that the relationships among such variables as education, employment, and marital status are neither direct nor simple. Each variable affects the others as well as fertility, and in addition, there may be other variables that have an equal impact on fertility. Elaborate analyses depending upon multiple regression techniques were beyond the scope of the present exploratory data analysis.

The handbooks are offered in full knowledge that they have many shortcomings inherent in data sets based primarily on census sources. Yet we believe they give valuable information on women that otherwise would simply not be available. No data-gathering effort matches the decennial census in scope and coverage, and the results are useful if one is aware of the limitations. These handbooks do not simply present the information on women's status in tables, charts, and text, but offer a critique on the concepts, availability, and quality of the data assembled on each variable—the positive attributes, as well as the major deficiencies.

Because census data must be assessed carefully, and often corrected, by comparison with other data sources, the handbooks are one step towards providing better information on women for both planning and scholarly purposes.

Latin America and the Caribbean

The WID Data Base provides information on 21 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. The countries were chosen either because their populations total 5 million or more or because they are countries in which USAID currently has programs. The only region missing from the WID Data Base which nevertheless comes under the guidelines mentioned above is the Eastern Caribbean; although all of the countries have under 5 million population, USAID has a large number of programs throughout the area. Because data are scanty for these territories,[3] they are not included in the WID Data Base, but will be available with results of the 1980 census round. Preliminary information from the Women in the Caribbean project, directed from the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Barbados, as well as data from other sources, are incorporated throughout the text to make up for this deficiency. Only scattered information is available on women in the other small islands and territories of the Caribbean—the six Netherlands Antilles islands, united among themselves in a federal government associated to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the French Antillean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, which are overseas *départements* of France—and thus reference to them has been omitted. Suriname and French Guiana are excluded for the same reason.

Latin America consists of the countries of Spanish, Portuguese, and French language and heritage on the South American continent; the countries of Middle America (Central America, Mexico, and Panama); and the Spanish and French speaking Caribbean islands. Further subdivisions on the South American continent include the Andean region (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru); Brazil; and the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay). With the exceptions noted above, all except Uruguay are included in the WID Data Base. The English-speaking Caribbean includes the 14 island countries of the British Commonwealth, plus Guyana and Belize on the South American continent. Only Jamaica and Guyana are included in the WID Data Base. There are anomalies in the divisions employed here: Guyana, as a member of the Commonwealth, is considered to be part of the Afro-Caribbean; as also is a common practice, however, it is here grouped with the South American countries. Haiti sometimes is considered to be part of Latin America because of its cultural heritage, and at other times, is included among the Afro-Caribbean nations because of its black population. In either event, it is unequivocally a Caribbean nation. The accompanying map shows the three regions included in the analysis.

Analytical Summary

The remaining chapters of this handbook analyze the statistics from the WID Data Base. Beginning with an overview of the population characteristics of the Caribbean and Latin America region, the analysis continues with a description of women's literacy and education, their labor force participation, their marital status, their fertility, and their mortality. Each topic is discussed in terms of both the availability of data and the situation of women as revealed by these statistics.

Population Distribution and Change

The demographics of the region serve as a starting point for analysis of women's roles in many aspects of life. Population sizes range from only a few thousand inhabitants in the smaller Caribbean islands to over 130 million in Brazil. The components of population change also vary, as indicated in the following table which shows estimates for 1983 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983b).

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[3] An exception is Barbados (1978) where a National Commission on the Status of Women issued a three-volume compendium of information on all aspects of women and their lives. The work was edited by Norma M. Forde.

	Population (in thousands)	Births per 1,000 population	Deaths per 1,000 population	Growth rate (percent)
Caribbean	30,699	24-26	8	1.4-1.5
Middle America ...	100,025	34-35	7	2.6-2.7
South America ...	259,644	30-32	8	2.2-2.3

As death rates do not vary significantly by subregion, differences in population growth rates result from variations in levels of fertility and international migration. In the Caribbean, birth rates are on the low side and emigration from the subregion is significant, as evidenced by the low growth rate. In Middle America, on the other hand, birth rates are relatively high (but still moderate by world standards) and emigration is slight, while South American birth rates and growth rates are at an intermediate level. These figures are based on weighted averages and mask differences among individual countries that are evident from the more detailed tables presented later in this report.

Distribution of the population by age and sex is an important element in development planning, as it reflects the potential candidates for schooling, childbearing, employment, and migration, among other activities. A summary of these percent distributions based on United Nations (1982a) estimates for 1980 is shown below:

Age	Caribbean		Middle America		South America	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
All Ages ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 to 14 years .	36.7	37.9	44.1	45.1	37.9	38.6
15 to 49 years	48.7	48.2	45.4	45.5	48.4	48.6
50 to 64 years	9.1	8.7	6.8	6.3	8.9	8.6
65 years and over ...	5.4	5.1	3.7	3.1	4.8	4.2

While the differences between the age distributions of women and men do not deviate from the usual pattern (a slightly higher proportion of boys than girls at the youngest ages changing gradually to a preponderance of women at the older ages), differences among subregions for both sexes are more noticeable and reflect the differences in vital rates noted above. In particular, the larger proportion of young people in Middle America than in the other subregions results from the higher birth rates there.

Aside from the fairly high population growth rates of the region overall, perhaps the most significant demographic fact is the rapid pace of urbanization, and this phenomenon does differentiate between the sexes. In Latin America, more women than men are included among the migrants from the countryside to the cities, resulting in increasing proportions of women in urban areas and of men in rural areas. This trend is even more apparent in the Southern Cone countries and Venezuela than elsewhere. Usually the capital cities have the fastest growth but not to the exclusion of growth in other cities and towns. Nor does the rapid urban growth imply stagnation in rural areas; they continue to increase in population size as well.

Literacy and Education

Education and literacy are increasingly seen as prerequisites to entering the labor force, especially in the formal sector. The levels of both enrollment and literacy are increasing over time, as evidenced by higher rates among the young.

Statistics are not available for all countries by rural/urban residence, but it is possible to calculate the median percent literate and enrolled in school based on those Caribbean and Latin American countries with available data:

Residence	Percent literate, age 10 years and over		Percent enrolled, age 10 to 14 years	
	Women	Men	Girls	Boys
Rural	55.6	67.3	60.6	62.2
Urban	84.0	91.6	86.7	88.8

As is true with any summary measure, these percentages hide a wide variation among the countries. In addition, the data for individual countries refer to different years, and so these median figures are only a rough approximation of the educational status of women and men in Latin America and the Caribbean. It may be noted in the case of literacy that while the differences in rates between the sexes are substantial, the gap between rural and urban rates for either sex is larger still. For enrollment at ages 10 to 14 years, the rural/urban gap is equally large, but the female/male differences are less significant than in the case of literacy. In some countries of the region, especially in rural Central America and the Andean region where many people continue to speak only their indigenous languages, enrollment for both sexes remains quite low.

At higher levels of education, enrollment declines, particularly for women. At the university level, far more men than women continue to be enrolled, and women still tend to cluster in the traditionally feminine fields of study in spite of increasing opportunities to enter other professions.

Women in Economic Activity

Among the various roles of women to be analyzed, their participation in the labor force is perhaps the least well represented in the available statistics. Worldwide a large proportion of women work in activities that do not fall into the categories represented in the formal labor force concepts as measured by censuses and surveys. Thus, while certain comparisons can be made based on the available data, one must exercise considerable caution in drawing conclusions.

As expected, the available statistics show a far lower participation of women than men in the formal labor force, as illustrated by the following median percentages for the population age 10 years and over based on the countries reporting such information:

Residence	Women	Men
Total country	20.8	73.7
Rural	11.1	78.5
Urban	25.2	66.9

As in the case of other measures, these median participation rates hide the wide variation among countries, particularly in the rates for women.

In the Caribbean and Latin America, women's work is characterized by two parallel processes: an accelerating movement of women into paid employment in the formal sector, and continuing high rates of female participation outside the formal structure of the labor market. Poor women have always worked, and today many middle and upper class women are joining them in the ranks of the employed.

Rapid urbanization and the incorporation of women into both the formal and the informal labor markets are positively correlated. In the cities, by far the largest proportion of women enter the service sector. A fairly substantial proportion of women in the nonagricultural labor force may be found in professional and technical occupations as well, but they are primarily teachers, nurses, pharmacists, and laboratory technicians, careers which do not carry high prestige in Latin America. In rural areas, such as the Andean regions, women continue to fill their schedules with activities such as planting crops, weeding and cultivating gardens, marketing produce, carding and spinning wool, and caring for small animals, in addition to their traditional household tasks. Many of these women are not represented in the labor force statistics because the results of their labor do not enter the cash economy.

Marital Status and Living Arrangements

Women's principal power and influence continue to be exercised in the domains of the family and the household, even though increasing numbers are entering the labor force and achieving status in the professions and government.

The types of marital unions women enter vary among the subregions and over the life cycle of individual women. Women in the countries with large European populations (Argentina and Chile, among those included in this analysis) tend to enter legal rather than consensual unions, and women of Hispanic and Afro-Caribbean origin usually aspire to legal marriage, although many spend their younger years in consensual unions before attaining their goal. In the Afro-Caribbean, many women are involved in a third type, the visiting union, which does not involve coresidence.

Differences between men and women in the proportion who report themselves as married are not significant, but the proportions single and widowed do vary between the sexes, and between rural and urban dwellers, as shown by the following median percentages in these categories, for the population age 15 years and over based on countries with available data:

	Rural		Urban	
Marital Status	Women	Men	Women	Men
Single	28.4	39.8	36.5	42.0
Widowed	6.9	2.4	7.2	1.9

These figures reflect the younger age at marriage of women than men, particularly in rural areas. They also reflect the preponderance of women among the migrants to the cities, as evidenced by the relatively high proportion of single women in urban areas. The proporion of widowed women far exceeds that of widowed men in both types of residence.

Statistics on families and household are often difficult to interpret because concepts vary so much among countries and definitions are often ambiguous or lacking altogether. Families and households are seldom coterminous, as households frequently contain not only conjugal families but members of other generations as well. Today they often contain no family at all. An increasingly interesting unit of study is the woman-headed household, although here again problems of definition hinder any attempt at precise comparisons. Women-headed households are most often created by widowhood, divorce, or separation, but often result also from the migration of men who leave their families behind or by the migration of women themselves. Not all women who head households are without male partners; many are acknowledged as head even when their partners are present. Among the subregions, women-headed households are most prevalent in the Caribbean, where up to one-third of household heads are women.

Fertility and Mortality

Paradoxically, women's prestige in Latin America and the Caribbean frequently results from their motherhood and family responsibilities, yet the pressure of economic realities and increasing opportunities for outside involvements lead many women to limit their childbearing. Interrelationships between fertility and other variables such as education and labor force participation are complex and not fully explored here.

Complex relationships also exist among variables related to mortality. While age and sex are crucial variables in determining death rates and life expectancies, living standards, health conditions, and other factors may also play significant roles. Differential mortality by sex in Latin America and the Caribbean follows the general worldwide pattern, with women having the general advantage over men.

Chapter 2

Sources of Data

The primary source of the statistical data analyzed in this handbook is the WID Data Base created by the Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, under the auspices of the USAID. The data file, including statistics for 120 countries worldwide, is contained on a computer tape. The capability also exists for selecting and printing tables in a standardized format. A list of table titles for which data were compiled by sex and rural/urban residence may be found in appendix B.

Selection and Quality of Data

As is well known, there are vast differences in both the quantity and the quality of statistics reported by the various countries. Furthermore, in spite of international recommendations, such as those provided by the United Nations, for the standardization of concepts and definitions pertaining to data collected in censuses and surveys, there continue to be wide discrepancies in data collection practices due to legitimate differences of what is appropriate in the varying cultural contexts. As a result, any attempt to compile standard data across countries, such as those in the WID Data Base, requires some decisions about whether and how the reported data should be manipulated so as to provide comparability. Certainly there is not a single right solution to this problem, but it is essential to set rules from the start so that consistent decisions are made whenever similar data situations are encountered among countries.

The standards used in selecting and evaluating the data for inclusion in the data base depend to some extent on the type of data being considered. For the demographic subjects, only data of benchmark quality are included. The concept of benchmark data refers to statistics (as reported by the country, as adjusted by researchers, or as derived by applying demographic techniques to incomplete data) which have been evaluated by the Census Bureau analysts and have been judged to be as representative as possible of the true situation. These data are internally consistent for a given country (for example, birth rates, death rates, international migration rates, population growth rates, and age/sex composition all fit together in a logical demographic pattern) and are consistent with other facts that are known about the country (for example, fertility levels are consistent with family planning practices and goals, and mortality levels are consistent with known health indexes).

These data also have been checked for external consistency. They have been compared to data for other countries in the same region or subregion, and to those elsewhere at approximately the same level of economic and social development, to ensure that they are not out of line.

These benchmark data refer to the date on which the census or survey was taken, that is, no projections beyond the reference date are included among them.

Demographic data that do not conform to these rigid benchmark requirements are generally not included in the data base. The source and method of derivation of the estimates are explained in the notes accompanying each table.

For socioeconomic variables (data on households, marital status, education, and economic activity), less rigid requirements were placed on the accuracy of the data. No techniques have been applied to evaluate the quality of the data in the socioeconomic tables, and most of these statistics are presented as they appear in the original sources. Nevertheless, the same care has been taken to annotate the sources and to explain any discrepancies in totals or deviations from standard international practices.

Concepts and Definitions

Concepts and definitions usually are not standardized among countries beyond what has already been done by the countries themselves for two reasons: first, the information is usually not available to manipulate the data to conform to standard concepts, and second, the differing concepts or definitions are often deliberately developed for each country's particular situation. For example, a country with only a few small urban centers needs a different definition of urban than a country that is already predominantly urban. On the other hand, nearly all countries define literacy as the ability to read and write, although some countries include additional requirements such as the ability to write a simple statement about everyday life, or the ability to read and write a specific language.

Although in the WID Data Base no attempt has been made to standardize the definitions of concepts such as urban, literacy, or economic activity, and such data are presented as reported by the country, all tables are nevertheless annotated, specifying the definition used by the country for these concepts and others such as nationality, household, and school enrollment. Thus, in all cases, the user has the opportunity to examine a fairly substantial set of notes that may help to explain any apparent discrepancies in the statistics from one country to another.

Time Period

For the basic distribution of the population by age and sex, data are included in the data base for the latest 2 census years. Most of the tables present data for the latest year available at the time of compilation. For countries whose data were compiled at an early stage of the project, updated tables presenting later statistics have been added to the file.

Some tables, for which a measure of change is most relevant and most readily available, present a time series of data. This is done for the various measures of mortality and fertility, where all available benchmark data since 1970 are presented; in a few cases where no post-1970 data are available, the latest post-1960 estimate is given for these measures.

Most often, the 1970 round of population censuses serves as the major source of the data presented. However, 1980-round data are given whenever these are available. Reliable surveys are also used to supplement census data whenever possible.

Auxiliary Measures

Users may choose to manipulate the data to derive additional rates and ratios to measure the status of women in the various subject areas covered in the data base, and this has sometimes been done in the analytical portions of this handbook. These measures may be designed to compare the position of women versus men with respect to a particular topic, or they may relate women in a particular category to all persons in the same category.

For example, the percent literate is shown in the data base for women and men; another measure may be derived to present the female/male ratio of the percent literate. A similar ratio can be devised for other topics such as the female/male ratio of the percent urban, the female/male ratio of the labor force participation rate, and so on.

In the other instance, to analyze women's share in a particular category or activity, the data can be used to calculate the percent of all persons with a given characteristic who are women. For example, it may be useful to calculate the female share of the rural labor force in a developing country. This measure would be derived using the number of economically active rural women as the numerator and the number of economically active rural persons of both sexes as the denominator. Such a measure might also be derived separately for various age groups or for any other characteristic.

Of course, more conventional percent distributions are also useful in many instances, such as a percent distribution of women by marital status. Sometimes, just one percentage is a useful measure across countries, such as the percent single among women ages 20 to 24 years. Many of these derived measures lend themselves easily to graphic presentation as well.

Data Availability

Given the criteria established for the selection of statistics for the WID Data Base, it is not surprising that not all data were available for all countries. In many cases, even when data of appropriate quality were available, they often did not fit the established categories exactly. In order to provide a summary of the amount and standardized nature of the statistics in the data base, a tally was made of the number of rows and columns of data in each table, and these results were compared to the number of rows and columns in each standard table outline. The tally for Latin American countries is summarized in table 2.1.

Ordinarily, each country has 31 tables of data. (In appendix B there are 19 table numbers, but several tables have parts A, B, and C, totalling 31 tables.) If updated information has been added, certain table numbers appear more than once, giving some countries more than 31 tables. A standard table is one whose number of rows and columns conforms to the outline. An actual table may be nonstandard for trivial reasons, for example, because a single age category was different from the outline; or it may be nonstandard in significant ways, for example, because data for only a total row were available when considerably more detail was intended. A frequent reason for a classification as nonstandard is the lack of a rural/urban breakdown of the data.

Sometimes no data at all were found on a particular topic for a given country, as represented by the number of blank tables indicated on table 2.1. In some instances, data were found on most topics for which a search was made (only three or four blank tables for Costa Rica, Mexico, and Colombia, for example), while for Haiti nearly half the tables are blank for lack of reliable data.

In this handbook, all tables and charts were derived from statistics in the WID Data Base unless stated otherwise. Countries are omitted from tables and charts if no data were available on the topic being presented. Each chapter discusses the quality and availability of data on its particular subject matter.

Further information on the WID Data Base, including how to access the computer file or obtain hard copy printouts, may be obtained by addressing the Chief, Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

Table 2.1. Number of Tables in WID Data Base, by Country and Category

Region and country	Total	Standard	Nonstandard	Blank
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba........................	31	11	8	12
Dominican Republic..........	32	8	14	10
Haiti.......................	31	10	6	15
Jamaica.....................	34	1	28	5
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica..................	39	11	24	4
El Salvador.................	31	11	13	7
Guatemala...................	31	9	17	5
Honduras....................	31	8	15	8
Mexico......................	32	7	22	3
Nicaragua...................	31	9	13	9
Panama......................	32	7	20	5
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina...................	31	0	21	10
Bolivia.....................	31	11	12	8
Brazil......................	31	7	19	5
Chile.......................	33	4	24	5
Colombia....................	37	11	22	4
Ecuador.....................	32	6	18	8
Guyana......................	32	1	24	7
Paraguay....................	31	10	14	7
Peru........................	33	10	16	7
Venezuela...................	33	5	21	7

Chapter 3

Population Distribution and Change

Women and men are differentially affected by population distribution, growth, and change. The age structure of populations, the numbers of women and men living in rural and urban areas, and the ethnic, linguistic, and religious composition of populations all are important variables in determining women's status in the developing world.

Populations grow or decline and arrange themselves spatially through birth, death, and migration. Fertility and mortality, along with migration, not only contribute to population change at the aggregate level, but also relate in important ways to women's lives. In this chapter, the influence of birth, death, and migration on overall population dynamics is emphasized; chapter 7 presents the impact they have on women's position and status.

Both the popular and the academic press have, over the past 20 years, publicized the accelerating rates of population growth in much of the Third World, as well as the complex connections among fertility, mortality, and migration in determining the numbers of people in a country and their distribution between rural and urban areas. Information on populations and their distributions is crucial to planners. There are, first of all, questions related to feeding the many new millions who will inhabit the world by the year 2000, the overriding concern in many development efforts. However, many other problems face policymakers and the development community: how will the many new people be housed, educated, employed, and provided with medical attention and other services when current capacities already are inadequate to accommodate the present population? Whatever the policy stance toward population issues—that, in general, it is positive for a country to increase its human resources, or that it is negative to the extent that population growth outstrips the possibility of providing an acceptable standard of living for all—population questions cannot be ignored but must be included in all aspects of planning.

In Latin America, population growth rates, paradoxically, continue to be high in many countries, in spite of impressive declines in fertility for the region as a whole over the past two to three decades (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a). Because of the young age structure of the population already born, and the fact that fertility is not declining rapidly enough to compensate for the precipitous declines in mortality and the consequent increasing life expectancy at birth, rates of natural population increase are high. These conditions result in projections of a steep and continuing rise in the absolute numbers of people who will inhabit the continent by the year 2000 and beyond. Figure 3.1 shows the relationships between fertility and mortality for the Latin America and Caribbean region as a whole, resulting in a lowered rate of natural increase that still, however, may result in a population increase from about 200 million people in 1960 to over 900 million by the year 2025. There are sharp variations by subregion in the rates of population increase and the numbers these rates portend. Projections for Argentina (Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, and CELADE, n.d.), for example, show a population increase of only 27 to 39 million by 2025 because fertility and mortality have been low for some time, and the country consequently has a much "older" age structure. In contrast, Mexico, with higher fertility rates and higher (but nevertheless declining) mortality, is projected to have a population of 133 million by 2010, compared to 76 million in 1983 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982).

Every population, even in simple societies, is distributed in several ways. Such distributions indicate only the size of pools in age, sex, rural/urban residence, and other categories that are appropriate for certain activities in the society. No causal links are implied that would lead to a kind of demographic determinism. People's behavior always is complex and never the result of single determinants. For example, distribution by age indicates those who are potentially dependent, but does not indicate how many children are, in fact, not dependent but working in paid employment. Other portions of the age distribution single out the potential candidates for schooling, childbearing and childrearing, employment, migration, and other significant activities. Possible options change over a person's life course, particularly for women whose family commitments often interrupt their education and employment.[1]

Another key division of the population is by rural and urban residence, particularly in developing countries where scarce resources must be allocated among various constituencies in the countryside, towns, and cities. Another important distribution that potentially affects policy and program planning is that dividing the population among socioeconomic groups and into various religious and ethnic formations. Each such group, depending on its size, resources, and other factors, may modify the society in profound ways and, in turn, may itself be modified.

A final, and often neglected distribution is perhaps the most fundamental of all: that between the sexes. Unless and until population, labor force, education, and other statistics are disaggregated by sex, at all other levels the observer will run the risk of missing important insights that can profoundly affect the policy planning process.[2] For example, for many years it has been noted that the worst off among the population of Latin America are the urban poor. A disaggregation by sex demonstrates that on almost any poverty index, women predominate in the least desirable categories: they form the largest pool of the urban population at the lowest socioeconomic levels; they work at the lowest level jobs for the lowest wages, or alternatively, they form the bulk of the underemployed and unemployed; and they enjoy the least occupational mobility and the least access to the available services and amenities such as schooling, vocational training, child care, and social and medical services. Recent studies documenting the disadvantaged position of women are cited in the next chapters on education, economic activity, living arrangements, and women's situation related to issues of fertility and mortality.

The disaggregation of population statistics by age, rural and urban residence, and, in the few cases where data are available, by ethnic/language and religious affiliations, can illumine old data in new ways, particularly when a further disaggregation by sex is possible. In this chapter, overall statistics on the populations of the 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries are compared and contrasted in three particular issue areas: 1) the predominance of the young, the implications of the age structure of populations for women, and, in a few cases, the problems of the growing proportions of elderly women, particularly in urban areas; 2) the rapid pace of urbanization in the region, which always has had a certain bias towards centralization, reenforced in recent decades by accelerated rural-to-urban migration of the female population; and 3) the concomitant growth of rural Latin America and the problems of women in regions of substantial migration of the male population, where women become responsible for subsistence agriculture. The statistics on women-headed households in both rural and urban areas also are explored.

Data Availability and Quality

Basic counts of women and men for the 1970's are included in the WID Data Base and are reasonably complete by sex, age groups, and rural/urban residence. No rural/urban disaggregations by sex and age are available for Argentina, Guyana, Jamaica and Venezuela; otherwise, there are no missing data. There are comparable population statistics for 14 countries from the 1960 census round; this enables some degree of comparison between the two censuses. A limited amount of 1980 data are also available. One signal advantage in using census data is the fact that Latin America and the Caribbean have had fairly regular censuses, with only a few exceptions, since the 1950's (pre-World War II population censuses were not always held so consistently).

Researchers who have studied population issues in Latin America are aware that serious errors often are made in basic population statistics. The administration of censuses is sometimes extremely difficult, given the rugged terrain and the isolation of many indigenous population groups. Occasionally census enumerators, rather than make the precipitous descent to the small, scattered settlements in the intermountain valleys, estimate totals by counting the number of houses and multiplying by the average family size for the region. In other cases, large numbers of women and men speaking only an indigenous language (about one-third in Bolivia and Peru, for example) make communication difficult, although census workers are often bilingual. The 1971 census of Haiti was conducted in French (the language of only about 5 percent of the population), although the enumerators were asked to translate from the Creole (Segal, 1975, p. 178).

Adjustments in census totals need to be made to correct for errors in administration, but these manipulations often take years. In the WID Data Base, except for total population figures for most countries, the data have not been adjusted. Sometimes adjustments cannot be made because there is no way to "correct" for administrative errors. In Peru, for example, in the 1961 census, a large number of women who were actually paid household workers (domestic servants) apparently were registered in the unpaid family worker category, inflating the latter statistic to 21.1 percent of all women workers.[3]

There also are inconsistencies in the concepts and definitions employed, which make cross-cultural comparisons inexact. Some of these are treated in detail in succeeding chapters, particularly in relation to marital status and economic activity. In this chapter, a major drawback is that definitions of rural and urban places are not uniform, and thus comparisons among countries of the region are somewhat problematic. Sometimes "urban" is based on a numerical definition, but the numbers separating rural from urban are not consistent. In some countries, to be classified as urban requires that a place have as few as 1,000 persons; in others, up to 2,500.[4] In other cases, a numerical definition is linked to certain urban characteristics. In Honduras, for example, urban includes population centers of 2,000 or more persons that have the following: highway, rail, or air transport; water mains; at least six grades of education; postal or telegraph service, and at least one of either electric lights, sewage system, or health center. For places to be considered urban in Nicaragua requires only 1,000 persons, plus some similar characteristics. In Chile, an area must have at least 40 houses grouped together to be classified as urban. Thus, to compare rural and urban populations among countries is actually to compare people who live under varying conditions. Such comparisons must be made with full knowledge that only gross trends are being analyzed.

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[1] The influence of women's particular stage in their life course and their economic activity is explored in chapter 5.

[2] For example, Cross (1979, pp. 50-56), in discussing employment problems in the Caribbean, mentions male rates of employment/unemployment 10 times in the course of a short discussion, but female rates only twice.

[3] In 1961, household workers comprised only 12.9 percent of all women workers, compared to the 21.1 percent in the family worker category. In the subsequent census in 1972, however, family workers dropped to only 8.4 percent of all women workers, and household workers jumped to an unlikely 18.4 percent.

In the same way, in the 1961 census, a large number of independent workers declared themselves to be employers, inflating that category to 31.5 percent of all workers—a statistic that has no relation to the 0.6 and 1.1 percent registered in the employer category in the 1972 and 1981 censuses. Nor is it plausible that independent workers would jump from only 11.0 percent in 1961 to 43 percent in 1972.

Information on migratory status of the population is scanty. The most exact measure in the WID Data Base is the percent of the population born outside the province of current residence; for the region, however, data are available for only 11 countries. One can estimate the extent of migration indirectly by looking at the growth of urban over rural areas between censuses, but this strategy has two difficulties: 1) it is impossible to separate the contributions that migration and urban fertility make to the growth of urban places and 2) the definitions of rural and urban are ambiguous, at best, making it difficult to decide what degree of urbanization is being measured cross-culturally. In some cases, countries show higher indexes of urbanization not because the population has necessarily moved, but because the boundaries of urban metropoli have pushed outward, thus reclassifying people who were rural as urban dwellers without their having changed residence. Few countries have good statistics on international migration.

Finally, very little information on ethnic, language, or religious affiliations is available from census sources. However, general information is available and has been incorporated in the next section.

Women, Population, and Change in Latin America and the Caribbean

The countries of Latin America and the Caribbean range in size from the tiny island nations of the Eastern and Western Caribbean, whose populations are under 100 thousand (Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Christopher-Nevis, and Turks and Caicos Islands) to Brazil, which in 1983 was estimated to have a population of 131 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983b, p. 3); the distribution of these populations is illustrated in figure 3.2. In the same set of estimates, Mexico registered almost 76 million; Argentina, 30 million; and Colombia 28 milion persons. Together with Peru, 19 million, and Venezuela, 18 million, these six countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela) account for over three quarters of the total population of the region, estimated at about 390 million in 1983 (ibid.). Table 3.1 gives the total numbers of women and men for the 21 Latin American countries in the WID Data Base from Censuses around 1970, and figure 3.3 shows the estimated total population at three points: midyear 1960, 1970, and 1985. (Estimates for selected years, 1960 to 1985, are shown in table 3.2).

Table 3.1 also shows sex ratios for the 21 countries, that is, the number of men in relation to each 100 women. There is a rough balance between the sexes in most of the countries of Middle America, in the Andean nations of Ecuador and Peru, and in Brazil, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Exceptions are Guatemala, Panama, and Cuba, all of which have an excess of males. In Cuba, more women than men may have been among the refugees who left the island during the 1960's. The remaining countries of South America have moderately low sex ratios (more women than men); among these are two of the most advanced countries, Argentina and Chile, where the ratio reflects the larger numbers of older women, as well as countries with fairly substantial male populations in international migration: Colombia, Guyana, Haiti, and Jamaica.

The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are, on the whole, a young population, although not so young as the inhabitants of Africa and Asia (with the exception of certain countries of East Asia and Oceania). As in other developing regions, there are substantial numbers of dependent young, with only three countries (Argentina, Chile, and Cuba), among those being considered here, registering less than 40 percent of their populations under 15 years of age at the time of the 1970 census round, as table 3.3 shows. Several other countries (the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guyana, and Nicaragua) hovered near the 50 percent mark in the proportions of their populations under 15 years of age. In the Afro-Caribbean, statistics for the 1970's show that Barbados (37 percent in the younger age group) is the only country that falls below 40 percent in the young dependent ages, while some of the Windward and Leeward Islands (Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines) have near 50 percent or more in the young dependent category, as does Belize (Cross, 1979, table 4.3, p. 61).

The proportion of the total population 65 years of age and older ranges from 3 to 4 percent for most countries in this study, not dissimilar to other parts of the developing world (United Nations, 1982a). Several Middle American nations (Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua) register 3 percent or less of their populations in the elderly category, while four countries are in the 5-to-7 percent range: Argentina, Chile, Cuba, and Jamaica. These percentages are higher than in most other nations in the developing world.

Dependency ratios,[5] as table 3.4 records, range from a low of 56.9 in Argentina to more than 100 in the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Honduras, Jamaica, and Nicaragua. In the developed nations, dependency ratios range from 50 to 60 persons for each 100 persons of working age (United Nations, 1982a).

Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show the percentages of women and men in the 21 countries at the time of the 1970 census round in several key age groups: pre-school age (0 to 4 years), school age (three age groups, roughly corresponding to the first, second, and third levels of education), reproductive ages (15 to 49 years, shown for women only), working ages (15 to 64 years), and elderly (65 years and over). Figure 3.4 shows graphically the proportions of women in four of the key age groups.

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[4] Fox and Huguet (1977, pp. 66ff), for example, urge care in interpreting low urbanization rates in Costa Rica because the definition of urban is too narrow in comparison to that of other countries.

[5] The dependency ratio represents the number of persons under 15 and over 64 years of age for every 100 persons of working age.

The purpose of these tables and chart is not to suggest that each person in the designated age group will, in fact, be a candidate for child care or pre-school activities, enroll in school, work in paid employment or, in the case of women, bear children, but to show the pool of persons whom policymakers need to take into account. For example, it may be considered positive when a relatively small proportion of people are found in the dependent ages, and more among the working-age population, as is the case in Argentina, Chile, and Cuba among the countries represented in this data base. The problem in many countries is that not all of those who are in the working-age group necessarily are employed, and many others are underemployed even when they have jobs. Nor are young people in their nominally dependent years always free to pursue their educations. In some cases, school facilities are lacking; in other cases, children must work.

Among the school and working age populations, age distributions of women are relatively similar to those of men; in nearly all cases, however, there are slightly higher percentages of women than men in the working ages, and slightly higher proportions of males than females in the younger school ages. At least 4 or 5 of every 10 women in most countries are in their reproductive years. There are proportionately more women in the 15 to 49 year age group in Argentina than in other countries, but age-specific fertility rates explain why that country has achieved slower population growth, while most of the other countries have not (see chapter 7).

Persons in older age groups are a growing concern in some countries, as lower fertility and mortality rates age the population. There are beginning to be fairly substantial percentages of older women in Argentina, Chile, Cuba, and Jamaica; proportions of older men in these countries also are higher, although neither sex approaches the 10 to 16 percent elderly in developed countries. Among the countries in the data base, Middle American women as a group are the youngest among the Latin American subregions.

Higher proportions of women than men are 65 years of age and older in all countries except in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala, as tables 3.5 and 3.6 also show. The difference between proportions of women and men among the aged is not nearly so marked as in developed countries where the discrepancy between male and female life expectancy is far greater.

Figure 3.5 pictures three modal types of population pyramid, reflecting three major age composition patterns. While individual countries do not match any modal type exactly, most countries tend toward one of the three general profiles. The expansive pyramid, with its broad base, indicates greater numbers in the younger age groups. The constrictive type shows smaller numbers in the younger age cohorts, and the stationary pyramid reflects roughly equal numbers of people at all age ranges, except for the older ages where there is, of course, a tapering off (Population Reference Bureau, 1978, p. 14). In Latin America and the Caribbean, the expansive pattern represents all the countries in the WID Data Base except Argentina, which is well on the way towards a constrictive pattern. Costa Rica, Chile, and Colombia are in the first stages of a trend towards the constrictive type.

Among the Latin American countries, sex ratios for the various age groups fall into some consistent patterns (table 3.7). In most cases, boys outnumber girls into the early teenage years; then young women begin to outnumber men in the age group 15 to 19 years. Countries that show distinctive patterns not following the general trend are Panama, where the excess of men continues until after age 65 years; Cuba, which exhibits an excess of men at all ages that increases rather than decreases with age; and the Dominican Republic, where the lowest sex ratio occurs among the 15 to 19 year olds, and then increases with age.

Rural/Urban Population Patterns. Aside from continued high rates of population growth in most countries, probably the most significant demographic fact about Latin American and Caribbean countries is the rapid pace of urbanization. It is important to modify this statement at the outset. In contrast to many world regions, even in pre-Columbian times, Latin America has had a strong urban bias (Hardoy, 1975); on the other hand, paradoxically, not all rural regions have stopped growing, especially those with a well-developed rural base of small peasant farmers.

Latin American political, economic, and religious administrative systems were, from the beginning of Spanish colonization, highly centralized. Building on the sites of indigenous cities (Hardoy, 1975, pp. 19-20), Latin America boasted great cities and flourishing market towns long before the period of post-World War II industrialization. Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, and Lima have been cosmopolitan centers for hundreds of years, although their populations were relatively small and grew slowly.[6]

Over the past three decades, beginning around the middle of the 1950's, the rural people of Latin America and the Caribbean have been setting out in ever-accelerating numbers for the urban places in their own countries, to the neighboring countries of the region, or northward to the United States.[7] The international emigration has tempered the growth rate in many countries, although there is evidence now of countervailing movements of return migrants who, by and large, tend to settle in the towns and cities of their homelands, whether or not they originally resided in urban areas. Segal (1975) has drawn together information on net population movements in the Caribbean region, estimating that about 10 percent of the total—some 2.8 million people—left between 1947 and 1962, reducing the population growth rate from 3 to 2 percent overall (ibid., p. 8).[8]

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[6] Some recent overviews on urbanization in Latin America, with good bibliographies, include Bromley and Gerry (1979); Butterworth and Chance (1981); Cross (1979); the International Labour Organization volumes on the informal sector, summed up in Sethuraman (1981); Lloyd (1979); Portes and Walton (1976); and Roberts (1978).

[7] People from the English-speaking Caribbean went to England until the mid-1960's.

[8] There is a vast literature on internal migration in Latin America, much of it carried out by the Centro Latinoamericano de Demografia in Santiago, Chile. Some recent works on movements across national boundaries include Bryce-Laporte (1980); the International Labour Organization volumes on international migration, carried out by the World Employment Programme; Kritz, et al. (1981); Piore (1979); and Portes and Walton (1981).

The growth of Latin American and Caribbean urban places in recent times has resulted from two intertwined trends: the high indexes of rural-to-urban migration and continued high rates of natural population increase in the cities. One process feeds the other: migration brings more women in their reproductive years into the cities and towns, where they continue to produce many children, although not so many as their rural counterparts. Recent discussions of the effects of migration on women include Chaney (1980); Orlansky and Dubrovsky (1978); and Youssef, Buvinić, and Kudat (1979).

Urbanization is most marked in the Southern Cone and Venezuela, where over 70 percent of the population resides in urban places, the result of previous rural-to-urban movements over several generations antedating the 1950's. The proportion of the population that is urban differs widely in the rest of the region (table 3.8). At the time of the 1970 census round, several countries approached 60 percent urban, and by now all have exceeded that mark: Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, and Peru (Population Reference Bureau, 1980). The populations of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay were approximately 40 percent urban, while the English-speaking Caribbean countries registered urban populations in the 20 to 25 percent range, except for Barbados, Jamaica, and Saint Lucia, at about 40 percent urban. Middle America remains the most rural subregion, but even there the proportion of the population resident in urban areas never fell below 30 percent and in two cases (Nicaragua and Panama) approached 50 percent urban. No doubt by now these percentages are higher.

In the urban areas, for countries where data are available, annual urban growth rates were high in the intercensal period between the 1960 and 1970 census rounds: over 3.7 percent or higher annually in all countries of Middle America except Guatemala; an equally high rate in Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador, with the remainder of the countries on the South American continent registering urban growth rates of 3.0 percent or above (table 3.9). It is important not to overemphasize the contribution of migration to urban growth; as Fox (1982b, p. 6) points out, in the past decade the largest proportion of urban population growth resulted from natural increase and only about 30 percent from net migration. In recent times, migration logically may be contributing proportionately less to total population growth in the cities and towns, as natural increase contributes more.

In most cases, the capital city has registered the greatest growth; in the 1950's, for example, the six capitals of Central America grew by at least 50 percent, and in the 1960's, by 50 percent again, with the same pattern of growth foreseen for the 1970's (Fox and Huguet, 1977, p. 7). However, there also were indications that a large number of secondary cities have been growing faster than the capitals in the past decade (ibid., [illegible]. 5-8).

The rapid growth of the cities is reflected in the increasing proportions of both women and men living in urban areas. Figure 3.6 compares this proportion for women at the latest two census dates. There are some census data confirming that more women than men are migrants, i.e., born outside the province of current residence. Taking into account the province in which the capital city of each country is located, in the 11 countries for which data are available, except Brazil and Peru, there were more women than men migrants residing in or near the capitals at the time of the 1970 census round (table 3.10). And again, there are more women than men in the cities, while in rural areas the men predominate except in Bolivia and Haiti (see sex ratios for both areas in figure 3.7).

While the proportion of the total population residing in urban areas has increased dramatically, this does not mean that the countryside in Latin America is emptying out. In all but a few countries, rural populations are continuing to grow, since many women in their fertile years remain in the countryside. Rural population growth rates were not as high as urban rates in the period between the 1960 and 1970 census rounds, and negative growth for the rural areas was registered in three countries: Chile, Colombia, and Cuba. Some areas are better at retaining their populations: for example, Fox (1975, pp. 6-7) notes the surprising ability of the rural sector in Mexico to retain great numbers of people, particularly in the hundreds of large villages with viable agricultural systems.

The sex ratios by age show opposite patterns in rural and urban areas (tables 3.11 and 3.12). There is a marked excess of men in the rural areas that tends to increase in each succeeding age group, becoming noticeable in some countries among persons of working age (15 to 64 years), and much more marked by ages 65 and over (see figure 3.8). Conversely, for the most part the proportion of urban boys in the younger age groups is greater than (or roughly equivalent to) the proportion of urban girls, but there is an excess of women in each age group after 15 years, culminating in low sex ratios for the working age population. These ratios become extremely low in some countries after age 65 years. Exceptions are Peru, with roughly equal proportions of women and men in the working ages in both rural and urban areas, and Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru, and Haiti where low sex ratios characterize the rural as well as the urban elderly. The implications of these figures for the woman-headed household are discussed in chapter 6.

The high proportions of elderly women in the city do not necessarily reflect overall low sex ratios for this group, i.e., the natural tendency for women to outlive men. In Costa Rica, for example, the overall sex ratio for persons age 65 years and over is 98.2, while the urban ratio of older men to women is a low 75.9; for Panama, 96.7 is the sex ratio for the elderly in the total population, and 76.4 the urban ratio. The Dominican Republic registers a high sex ratio of 102.0 in this age group, indicating there are more elderly men than women in the total population; however, the Dominican Republic also registers a low urban sex ratio of 74.9.

Apart from the sex ratios at selected ages, one might also consider the actual percentages of women in the various age groups in the rural and urban areas. Table 3.13 shows the percent distribution by age of women living in rural and urban places at the time of the 1970 census round. In Middle America, nearly half (between 48 and 50 percent in all countries) of the female population in rural areas was under 15 years of age, and in the other subregions, between 40 and 50 percent were in the youngest age group. In urban areas, in contrast, there was a predominance of women in the reproductive ages (15 to 49 years); in all but three countries with available data, at least 48 percent of the urban female population fell into the reproductive age group. However, when one considers only women of reproductive ages and their distribution between rural and urban areas, as is done in table 3.14 and illustrated in figure 3.9, it can be noted that women of these ages predominate in the countryside in about half the countries, as the overall size of the rural population still outweighs the urban. Thus, in absolute numbers, there are more women of reproductive age in urban than in rural areas only in Cuba among the Caribbean countries shown; in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru among the South American countries; and in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama among the Middle American countries. These countries correspond closely to those where 50 percent or more of the overall population resides in urban areas; only Nicaragua and Panama among them have less, and they are fast approaching the halfway mark.

Dependency ratios generally are much higher in the rural areas than in the cities and towns. It is possible that part of the surge of rural people towards the cities can be explained by the pressures exerted by many dependents and fewer possibilities for employment in rural places; women, in particular, suffer from fewer income-generating opportunities in the countryside than in former times, when there was greater demand for female labor in agriculture and rural industries.

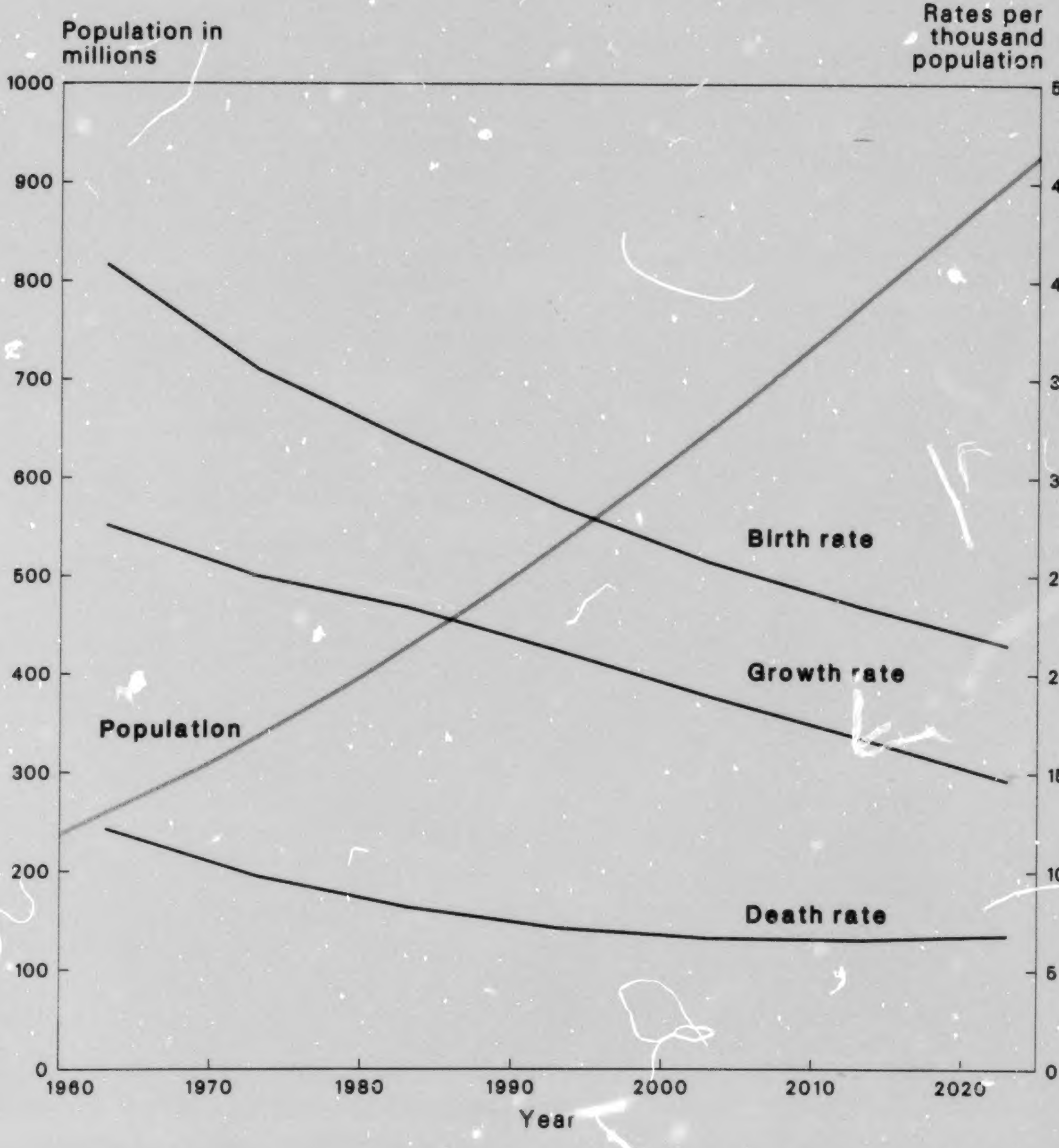
Ethnicity and Language. Little census data are available on ethnic and language groups. From other sources, we know that in the Caribbean, four-fifths of the population is roughly divided among black and white populations, while the rest are of mixed ancestry. Jamaica and Barbados are predominantly black nations, with 91 percent of their population identified as of African ancestry, and only 1.2 and 0.5 percent, respectively, classified as East Indian, descendants of those persons who came from Asia as indentured servants in the last century. The Trinidadian population, in contrast, is about evenly divided between persons of African and of East Indian descent (some 40 percent of each), while in Guyana, persons of African descent are a minority (about 31 percent are descendants of black ancestors, and 52 percent have East Indian ancestry).

Central America, while dominated by Hispanic heritage and language, has been influenced greatly by its Amer-Indian populations. Guatemala, for example, registered nearly 44 percent of its population as Indian in 1973, while Panama has only about 5 percent Indian population. Other Central American countries are mainly mestizo (mixed Spanish and Indian), with small numbers of full-blooded indigenous people. Small numbers of Afro-Caribbean people also reside in Central America; there is, for example, a colony of Jamaicans in Costa Rica who migrated to work in the banana plantations and did not go home.

South America today reflects its European heritage; in some countries, this predominates, as the Indian "problem" was solved by pushing the indigenous people further and further south (as in Chile), or eliminating them (as in Argentina). In the latter country, persons of Italian descent nearly equal (some say surpass) those of Spanish heritage; there are smaller numbers of German, English, and Irish ethnic groups in both nations. Chile today has a predominantly mestizo population, the descendants of the early admixture of Spanish conqueror and Amer-Indian women. Although Colombia and Venezuela are Andean countries, their racial makeup also is predominantly Spanish and mestizo. In all of these countries, the Hispanic model for women—wifehood and motherhood as the one honorable vocation, reenforced by church doctrine and education—has greatly influenced the lives of all women, whatever their ethnic origin or class.

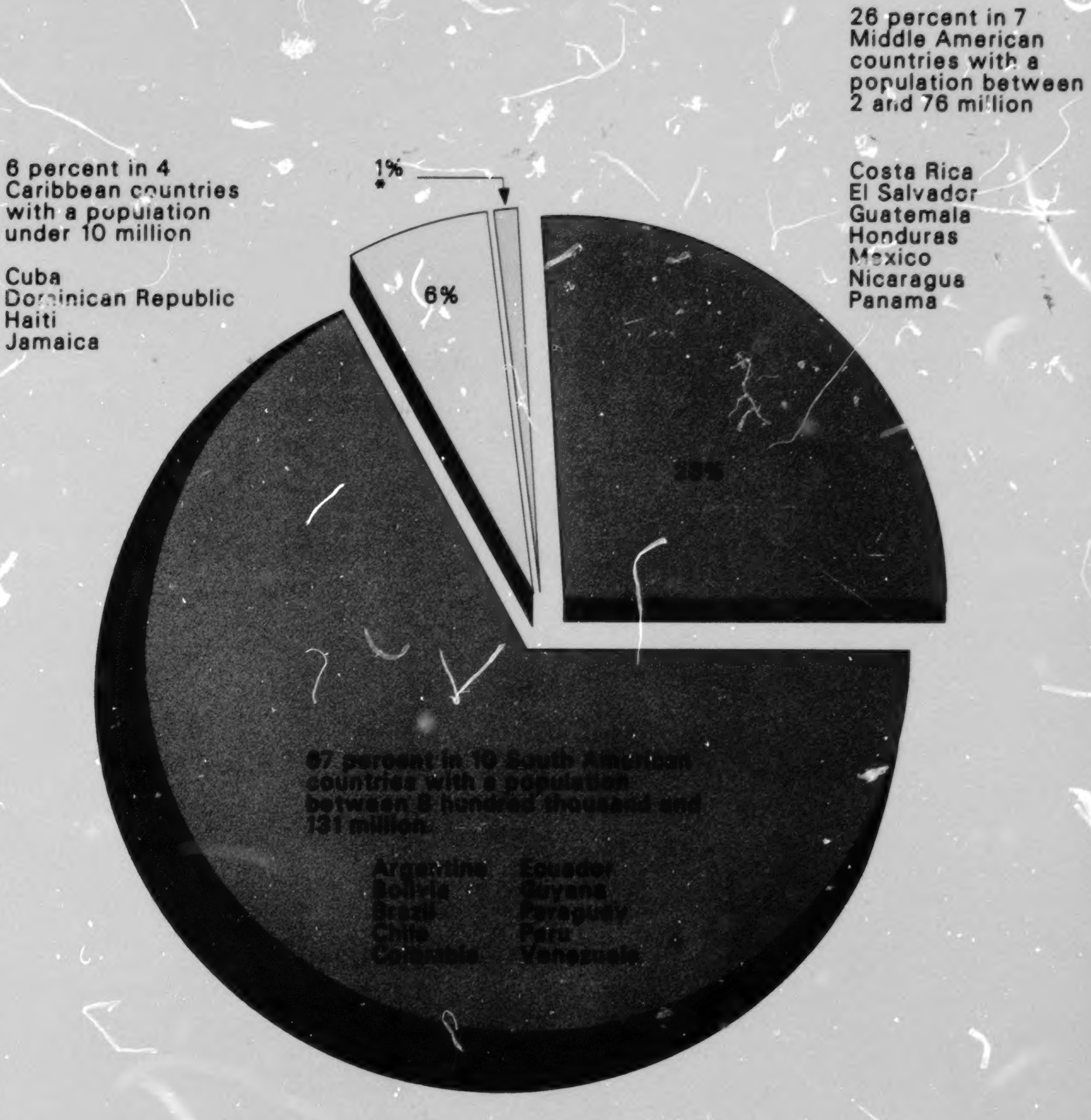
In the other Andean countries (Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador), large numbers of Amer-Indian people remain, particularly in the highland areas, with *cholos* (Indians who have adopted Spanish language and dress, and who also may have some Hispanic ancestry) more evident in the highland towns. According to their last censuses, a majority of urban women in Bolivia and Peru spoke Spanish (53 and 81 percent respectively). There were, however, large numbers of women in the rural areas who still spoke only an Indian language (46 percent in Bolivia and 52 percent in Peru). Rural men, many of whom have been conscripted to army service and have learned to read and write Spanish, outnumber the women who can do so. In Bolivia, for example, while 31 percent of the rural women speak both Spanish and an Indian tongue, 47 percent of the men do so (about a quarter of each speak Spanish only). In Peru, the differences are not so marked: 47 percent of rural men speak only an Indian language, while 52 percent of women are in this group.

Figure 3.1. Latin America and Caribbean: Estimated and Projected Population Size and Components of Change: 1960 to 2025



Source: United Nations, 1982, pp. 176 and 178.

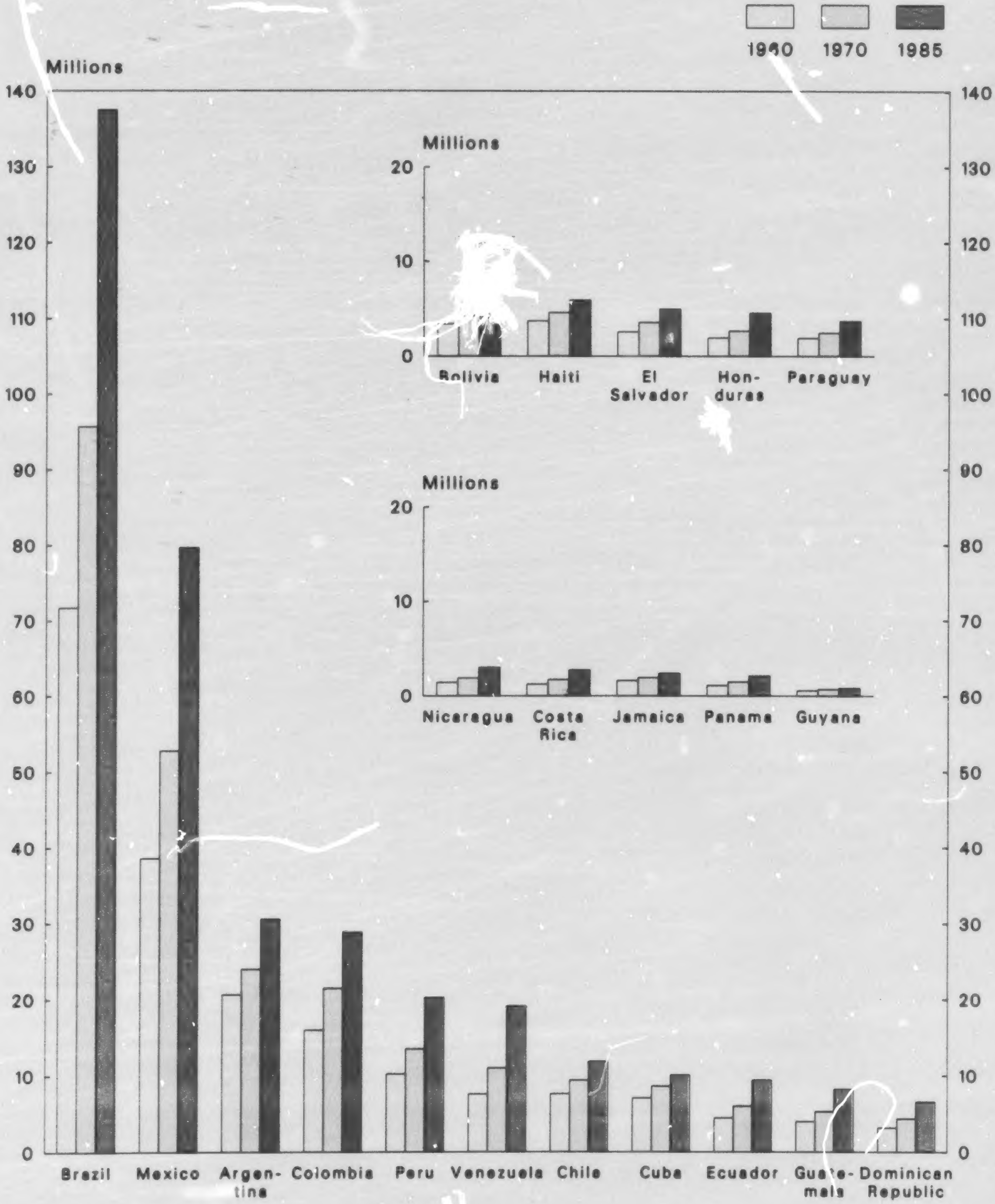
Figure 3.2. Population Distribution of Latin American and Caribbean Countries: 1983



* 1.0% in 23 Latin American and Caribbean countries not presently in the WID data base.

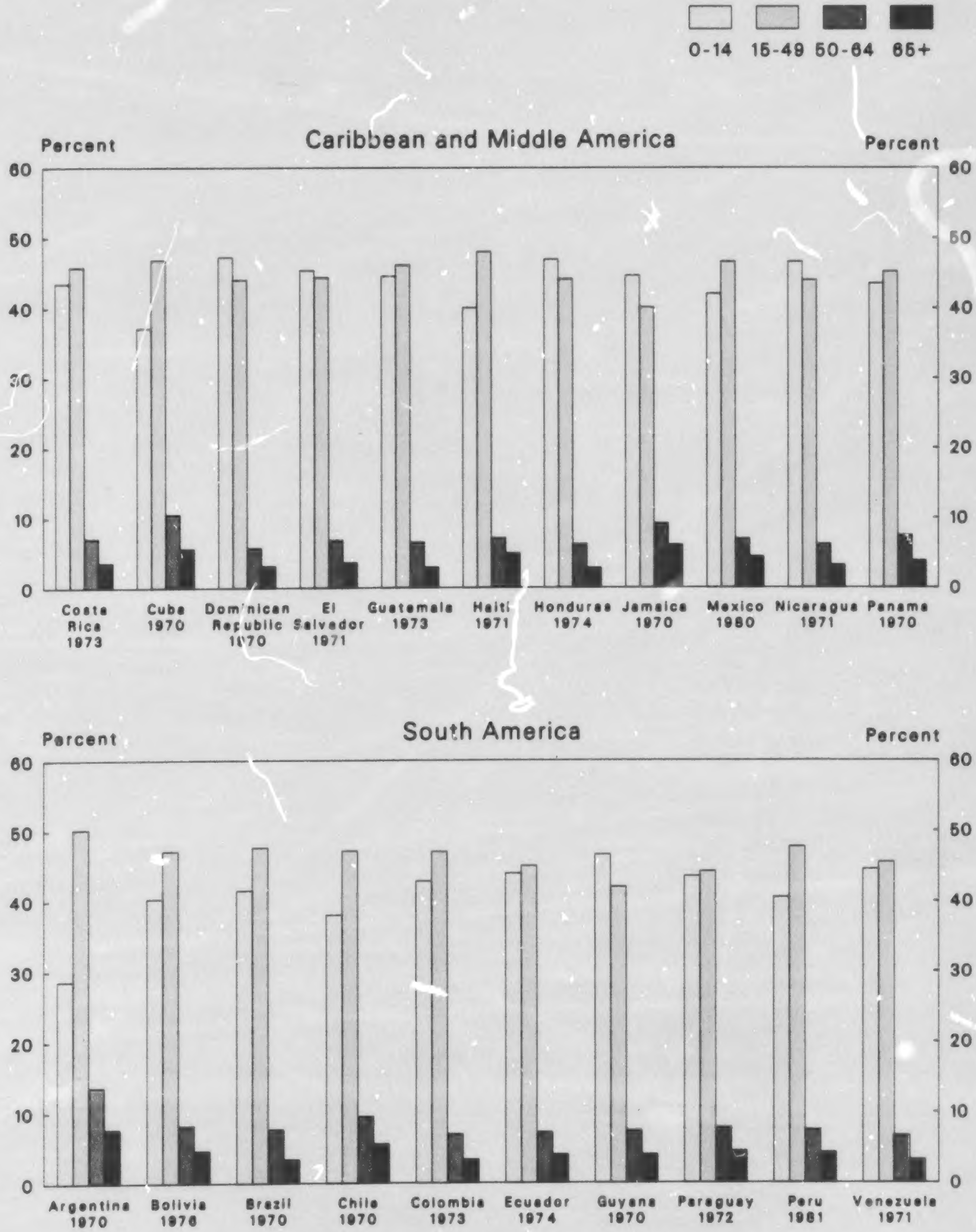
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

Figure 3.3. Estimated and Projected Population of the Caribbean, Middle America, and South America: 1960, 1970, and 1985



Note: Countries are presented in rank order by population size in 1985.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983.

Figure 3.4. Percent of All Women in Selected Age Groups


Caribbean and Middle America

South America

Figure 3.5. Three Modal Types of Population Pyramids: Expansive, Constrictive, and Stationary

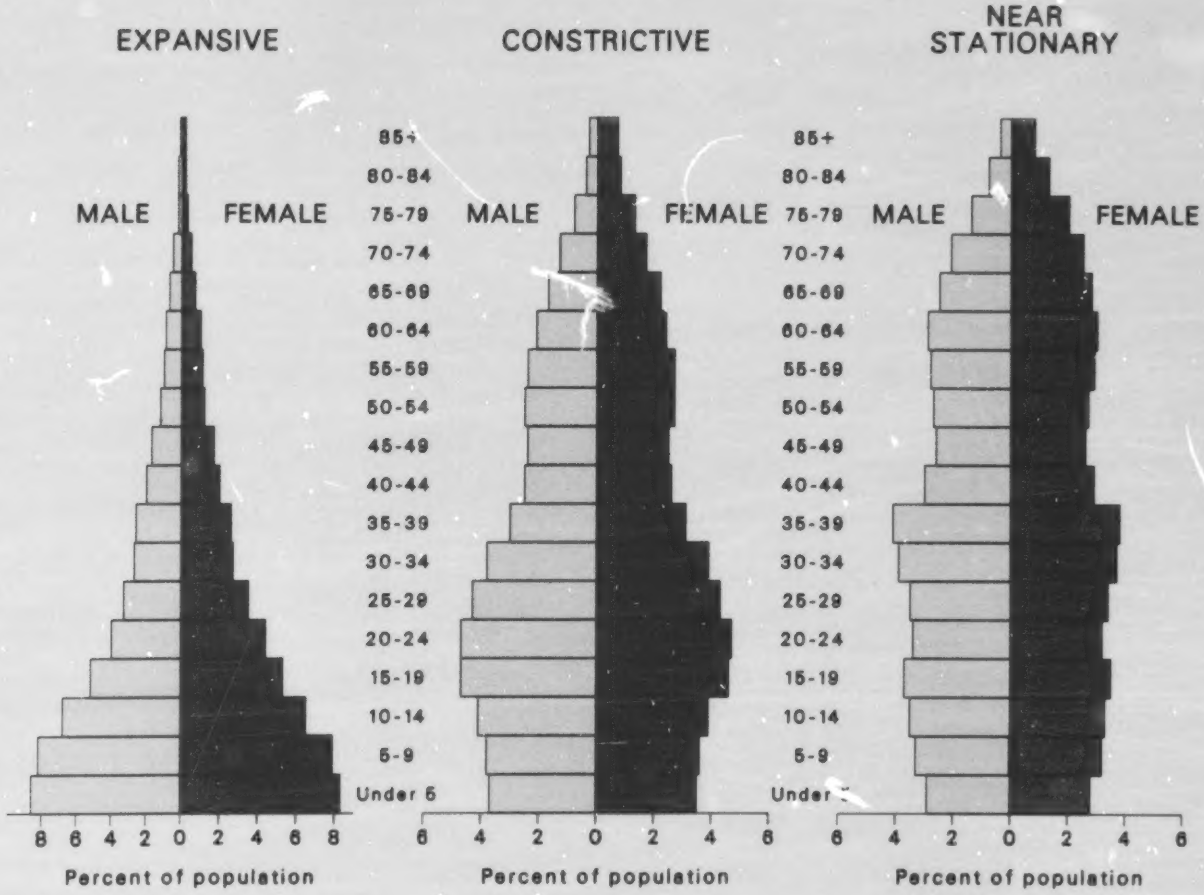


Figure 3.6. Percent of Women Living in Urban Areas, Latest Two Censuses

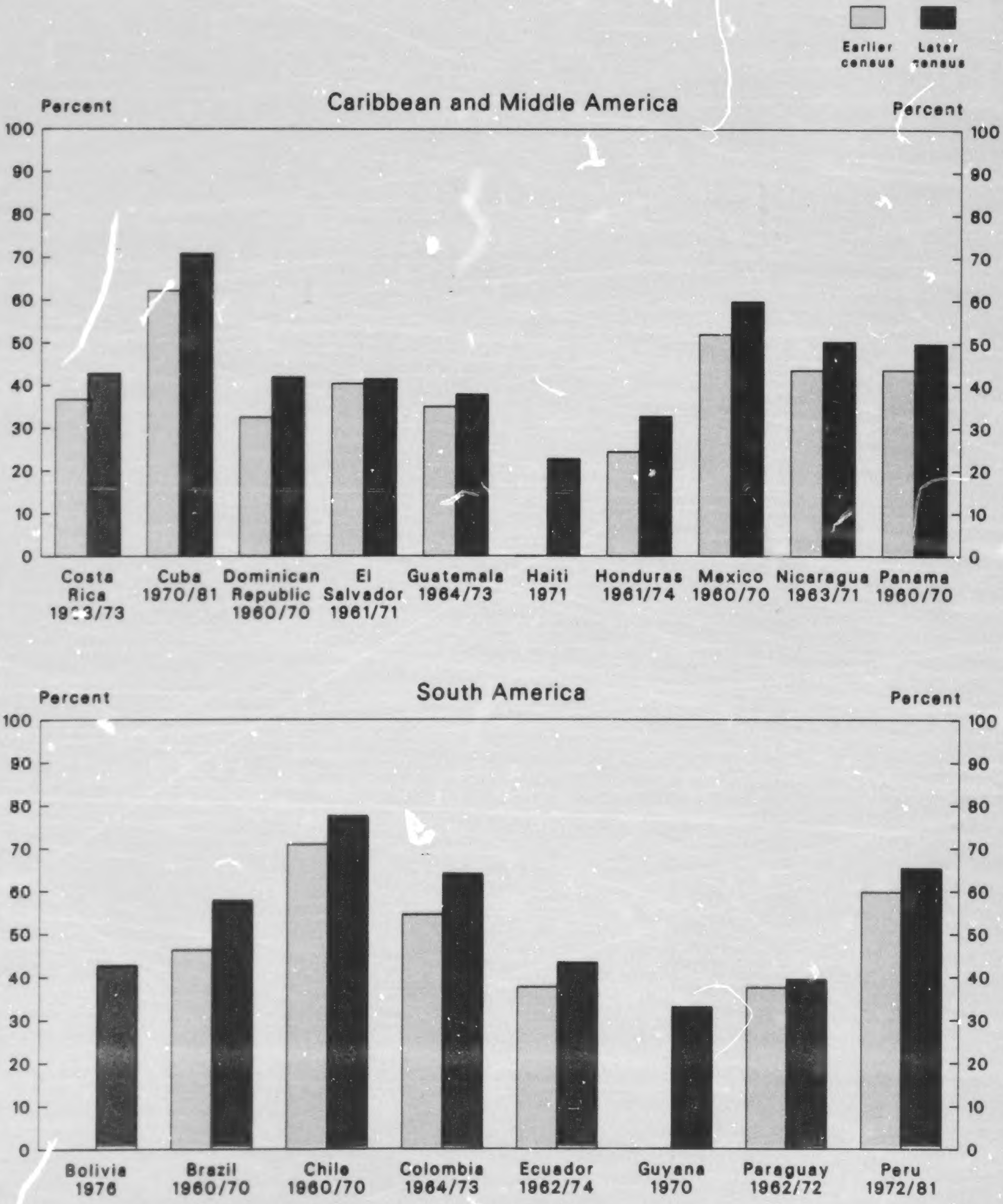
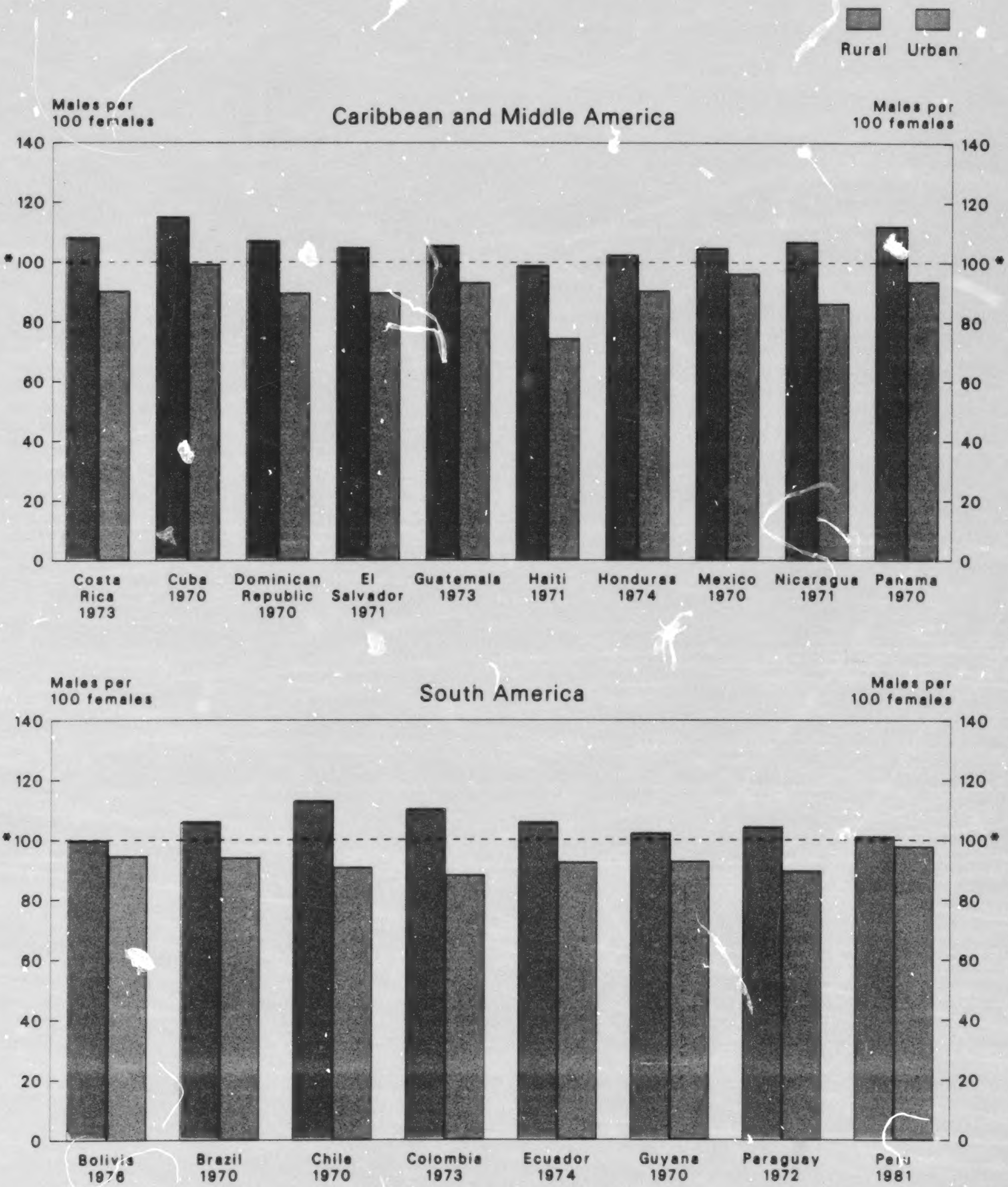
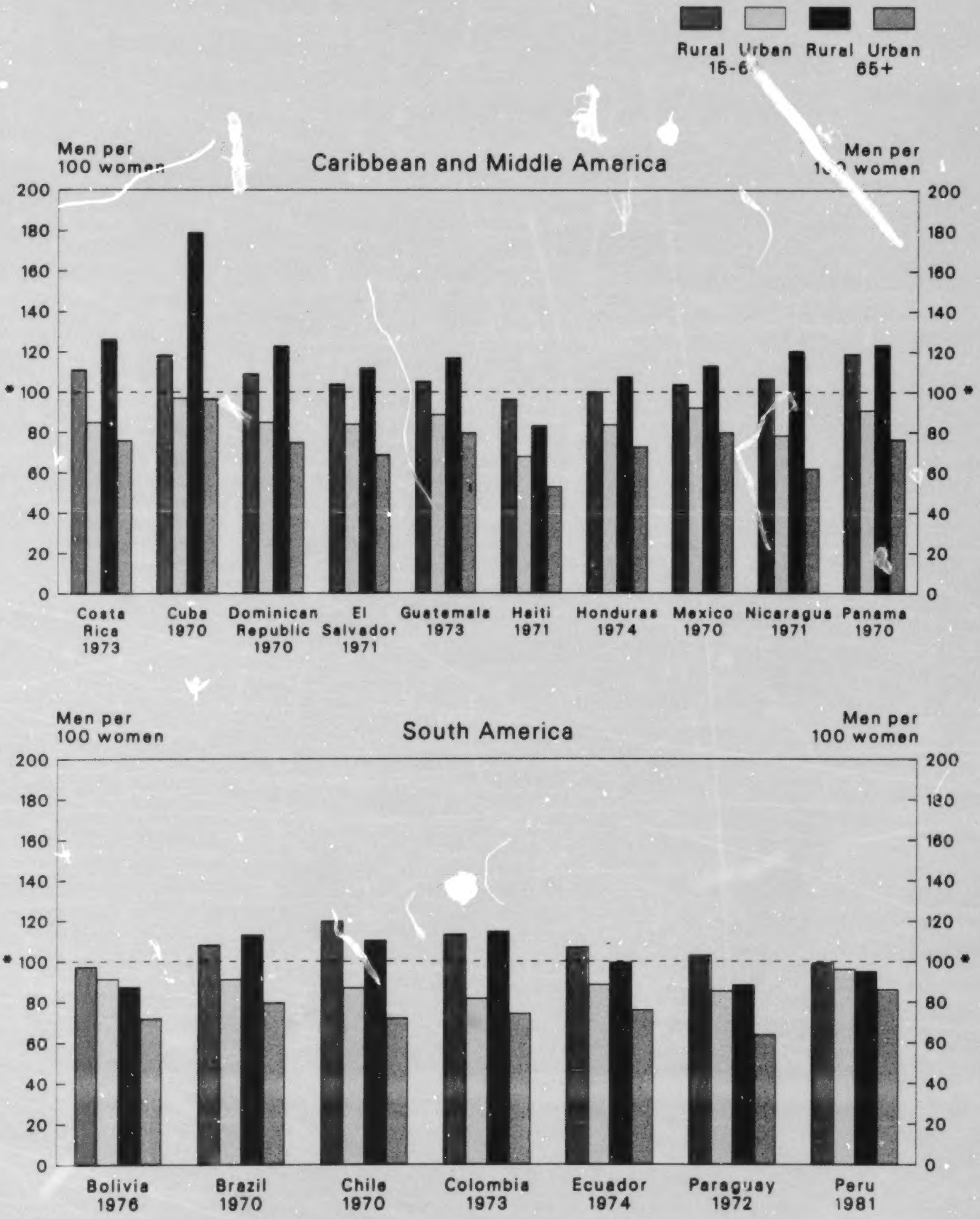


Figure 3.7. Sex Ratio by Rural/Urban Residence



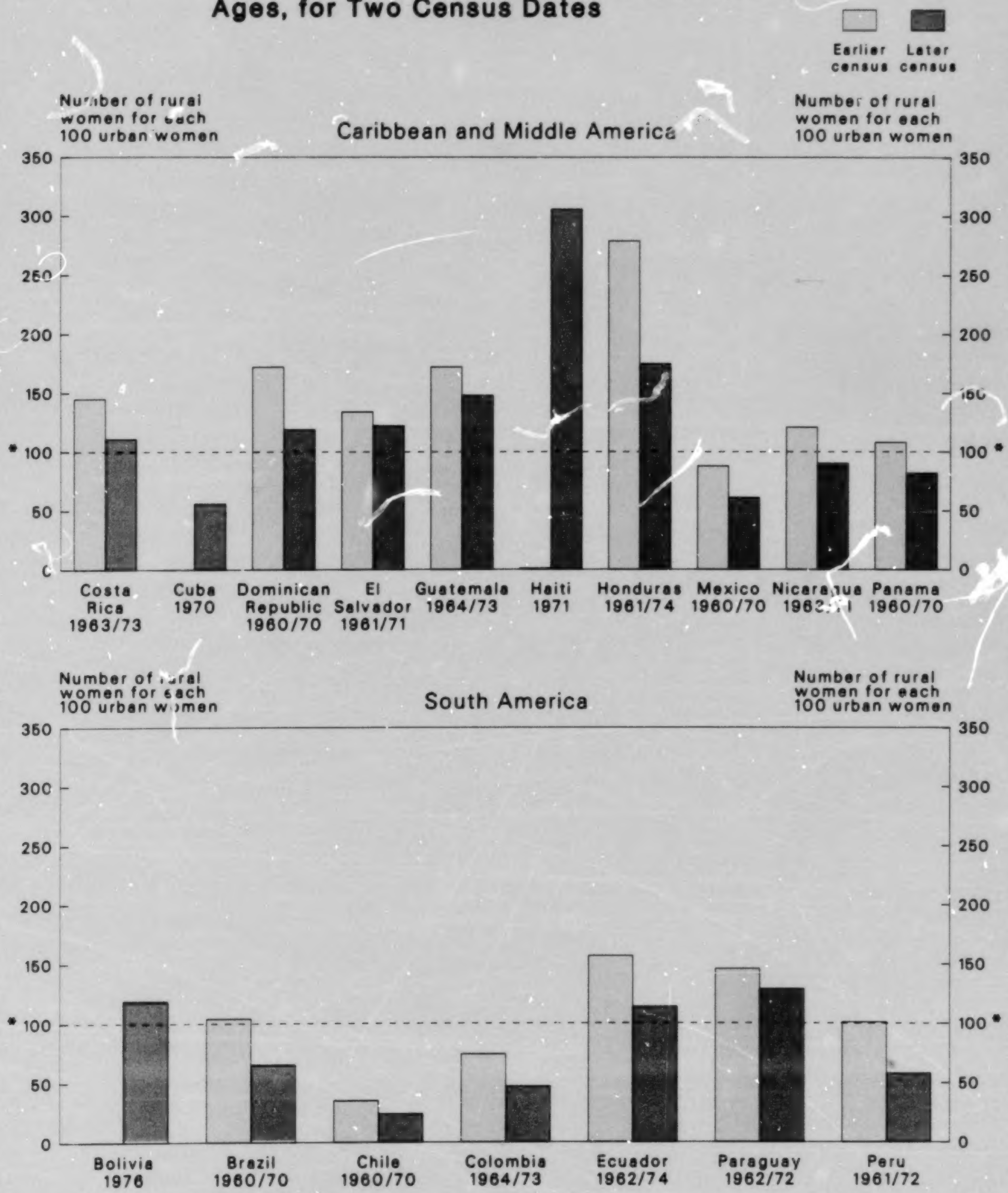
*Number of males equals number of females.

Figure 3.8. Sex Ratio of the Population in Two Age Groups, by Rural/Urban Residence



* Number of men equals number of women.

Figure 3.9. Rural/Urban Ratio of Women in Reproductive Ages, for Two Census Dates



* Number of rural women equals number of urban women.

Table 3.1. Total Population, by Sex, and Sex Ratio

(Adjusted population in thousands. Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Both sexes	Female	Male	Sex ratio[1]
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba[2,3]	1970	8,569	4,176	4,393	105.2
Dominican Republic	1970	4,284	2,120	2,164	102.1
Haiti[2]	1971	4,315	2,234	2,081	93.1
Jamaica	1970	1,938	982	956	97.4
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica	1973	1,879	935	944	101.0
El Salvador	1971	3,687	1,831	1,856	101.4
Guatemala	1973	5,699	2,807	2,892	103.0
Honduras	1974	3,032	1,510	1,523	100.9
Mexico	1980	69,979	35,169	34,810	99.0
Nicaragua	1971	1,953	994	959	96.5
Panama	1970	1,447	712	735	103.1
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina[2]	1970	23,390	11,773	11,617	98.7
Bolivia	1976	4,853	2,464	2,389	97.0
Brazil	1970	96,137	48,271	47,866	99.2
Chile	1970	9,336	4,723	4,613	97.7
Colombia	1973	23,228	11,717	11,511	98.2
Ecuador	1974	6,686	3,343	3,343	100.0
Guyana[4]	1970	700	352	348	98.8
Paraguay	1972	2,616	1,314	1,302	99.1
Peru[5]	1981	17,005	8,548	8,457	98.9
Venezuela[6]	1971	10,722	5,372	5,350	99.6

[1] Number of men per 100 women.

[2] Unadjusted population; adjusted figures not available.

[3] Unadjusted preliminary figures for 1981 for Cuba show a total of 9,706,369 (4,796,783 women and 4,909,586 men).

[4] Unadjusted. An adjusted total shows a population of 711,000 for 1970; adjusted figures are not available by sex.

[5] Unadjusted. An adjusted total shows a population of 14,122,000 for 1972; adjusted figures are not available by sex. Preliminary figures for 1981 show a total of 17,031,221 (8,517,811 women and 8,513,410 men).

[6] Unadjusted. An adjusted total shows a population of 11,498,000 for 1971; adjusted figures are not available by sex. Preliminary figures for 1981 show a total of 14,602,480 (7,308,084 women and 7,294,396 men).

Table 3.2. Total Population: 1960 to 1985
(Midyear population in thousands)

Region and country	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	Annual rate of growth 1980-85 (percent)
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba	7,027	7,810	8,551	9,300	9,658	10,036	0.8
Dominican Republic	3,159	3,703	4,343	5,038	5,774	6,588	2.6
Haiti	3,723	4,137	4,605	4,986	5,395	5,921	1.9
Jamaica	1,632	1,777	1,944	2,108	2,243	2,403	1.4
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica	1,248	1,488	1,736	2,008	2,404	2,761	2.8
El Salvador	2,574	3,005	3,582	4,143	4,718	4,983	0.1
Guatemala	3,969	4,595	5,262	6,091	7,120	8,206	2.8
Honduras	1,952	2,299	2,683	3,178	3,815	4,575	3.6
Mexico	38,579	45,142	52,775	61,456	70,111	79,662	2.6
Nicaragua	1,438	1,659	1,908	2,196	2,497	3,030	3.8
Panama	1,112	1,294	1,497	1,711	1,916	2,145	2.3
SOUTH AMERICA							
Argentina	20,616	22,283	23,962	26,052	28,237	30,564	1.6
Bolivia	3,405	3,802	4,265	4,809	5,450	6,195	2.6
Brazil	71,695	83,093	95,684	108,672	122,407	137,502	2.3
Chile	7,585	8,510	9,369	10,214	10,991	11,828	1.5
Colombia	15,953	18,646	21,430	24,165	26,056	28,842	2.0
Ecuador	4,422	5,134	5,958	6,891	8,021	9,380	3.1
Guyana	571	640	715	775	817	840	0.5
Paraguay	1,910	2,170	2,477	2,832	3,244	3,722	2.7
Peru	10,181	11,694	13,461	15,397	17,625	20,273	2.8
Venezuela	7,550	9,169	10,962	13,074	16,302	19,120	3.2

Note: Slight discrepancies between the population totals shown in this table and those in table 3.1 are explained primarily by the different dates during the year to which the data refer. Figures in table 3.1 refer to the respective census dates for each country, while those in table 3.2 all refer to July 1.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983b.

Table 3.3. Percent of Population Under Age 15 Years and Age 65 Years and Over, by Sex

Region and country	Year	Under 15 years			65 years and over		
		Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Women	Men
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba	1970	36.9	37.0	36.9	5.9	5.6	6.2
Dominican Republic	1970	47.6	47.2	48.0	3.1	3.1	3.1
Haiti	1971	41.5	40.0	43.0	4.5	4.9	4.1
Jamaica	1970	45.9	44.6	47.2	5.6	5.0	6.1
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica	1973	44.0	43.5	44.6	3.5	3.6	3.5
El Salvador	1971	46.4	45.3	47.6	3.5	3.6	3.3
Guatemala	1973	45.1	44.5	45.7	2.9	2.9	2.9
Honduras	1974	48.1	46.9	49.2	2.8	2.8	2.7
Mexico	1970	46.2	45.2	47.2	3.7	3.9	3.6
Nicaragua	1971	48.1	46.6	49.6	3.0	3.2	2.8
Panama	1970	43.4	43.5	43.4	3.7	3.8	3.6
SOUTH AMERICA							
Argentina	1970	29.3	28.7	29.9	7.0	7.6	6.4
Bolivia	1976	41.5	40.4	42.6	4.2	4.5	3.8
Brazil	1970	42.0	41.5	42.5	3.1	3.3	3.0
Chile	1970	39.2	38.1	40.3	5.0	5.5	4.6
Colombia	1973	46.7	45.3	48.2	3.1	3.3	3.0
Ecuador	1974	44.5	43.9	45.1	3.8	4.0	3.6
Guyana	1970	47.1	46.6	47.6	3.6	4.0	3.2
Paraguay	1972	44.7	43.5	46.1	4.0	4.5	3.5
Peru	1981	41.3	40.6	42.1	4.1	4.3	3.9
Venezuela	1971	45.0	44.4	45.6	3.0	3.3	2.6

Table 3.4. Dependency Ratios, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total	Rural	Urban
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba..........................	1970	75.0	87.0	67.[illegible]
Dominican Republic..........	1970	102.9	112.2	90.1
Haiti.......................	1971	85.2	87.2	77.8
Jamaica.....................	1970	106.0	(NA)	(NA)
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica..................	1973	90.7	104.7	73.4
El Salvador.................	1971	99.6	111.8	83.5
Guatemala...................	1973	92.2	99.7	80.4
Honduras....................	1974	103.4	112.0	86.9
Mexico[1]...................	1970	99.7	109.3	93.5
Nicaragua...................	1971	104.5	112.2	97.5
Panama......................	1970	89.2	104.7	74.6
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina...................	1970	56.9	(NA)	(NA)
Bolivia.....................	1976	84.1	91.7	74.4
Brazil......................	1970	82.6	96.2	73.2
Chile.......................	1970	79.2	95.2	74.5
Colombia....................	1973	89.9	105.7	81.0
Ecuador.....................	1974	93.4	102.3	82.2
Guyana......................	1970	102.9	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay....................	1972	95.3	108.9	76.0
Peru........................	1981	83.2	102.0	74.4
Venezuela...................	1971	92.1	(NA)	(NA)

[1] The dependency ratio for Mexico, according to adjusted population census figures for 1980, is 94.3 for the total country. Rural/urban disaggregations are not yet available.

Table 3.5. Percent of Female Population in Selected Age Groups

(Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of overlapping categories)

Region and country	Year	Preschool age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba[1]	1970	13.9	13.7	9.5	9.0	46.8	57.4	5.6
Dominican Republic	1970	16.7	16.3	14.2	11.6	44.0	49.7	3.1
Haiti	1971	13.5	13.3	13.2	11.2	48.0	55.1	4.9
Jamaica	1970	15.4	16.1	13.1	9.1	40.1	50.0	6.1
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica	1973	13.7	15.2	14.6	11.9	45.8	53.0	3.6
El Salvador	1971	16.6	15.9	12.8	10.3	44.3	51.0	3.6
Guatemala	1973	16.8	14.9	12.8	11.1	46.1	52.6	2.9
Honduras	1974	17.9	15.6	13.4	11.1	44.1	50.3	2.8
Mexico	1980	13.6	14.9	13.5	11.5	46.6	53.3	4.4
Nicaragua	1971	16.6	16.3	13.7	11.1	44.0	50.1	3.2
Panama	1970	16.2	15.1	12.2	10.3	45.2	52.7	3.8
SOUTH AMERICA								
Argentina	1970	9.8	9.6	9.2	8.8	50.2	63.7	7.6
Bolivia	1976	15.6	13.4	11.3	10.6	47.1	55.1	4.5
Brazil	1970	14.6	14.2	12.7	11.2	47.6	55.0	3.3
Chile	1970	12.2	13.6	12.2	10.3	47.1	56.4	5.5
Colombia	1973	13.8	15.0	14.0	12.1	47.0	53.8	3.3
Ecuador	1974	15.8	14.9	13.2	10.8	45.0	52.1	4.0
Guyana	1970	15.6	16.7	14.3	11.3	42.0	49.4	4.0
Paraguay	1972	15.2	14.9	13.4	11.1	44.2	52.0	4.5
Peru	1981	14.1	13.9	12.5	11.0	47.7	55.1	4.3
Venezuela	1971	16.0	15.1	13.4	11.5	45.5	52.3	3.3

[1] Preliminary data from the 1981 census of Cuba indicate the following percentages of female population in broad age groups: 0 to 16 years, 34.6; 17 to 29 years, 23.0; 30 to 44 years, 19.3; 45 to 59 years, 12.4; 60 years and over, 10.7.

Table 3.6. Percent of Male Population in Selected Age Groups

(Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of overlapping categories)

Region and country	Year	Preschool age	School age			Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba[1]	1970	13.8	13.6	9.5	8.9	56.9	6.2
Dominican Republic	1970	17.2	16.5	14.3	10.5	48.9	3.1
Haiti	1971	14.6	14.0	14.4	11.0	52.9	4.1
Jamaica	1970	16.3	17.1	13.9	9.2	47.7	5.0
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica	1973	14.0	15.7	15.0	11.9	51.9	3.5
El Salvador	1971	17.0	16.8	13.7	9.9	49.2	3.3
Guatemala	1973	17.0	15.3	13.5	10.6	51.4	2.9
Honduras	1974	18.7	16.4	14.2	10.6	48.1	2.7
Mexico	1980	14.0	15.6	14.1	11.3	52.0	4.0
Nicaragua	1971	17.7	17.2	14.7	10.7	47.6	2.8
Panama	1970	16.2	14.9	12.2	9.9	53.0	3.6
SOUTH AMERICA							
Argentina	1970	10.3	10.0	9.6	9.1	63.7	6.4
Bolivia	1976	16.2	14.0	12.3	10.9	53.5	3.8
Brazil	1970	15.0	14.7	12.8	10.8	54.3	3.0
Chile	1970	13.1	14.4	12.9	10.3	55.1	4.6
Colombia	1973	14.8	15.9	14.8	11.5	51.5	3.0
Ecuador	1974	16.2	15.2	13.7	10.7	51.3	3.6
Guyana	1970	16.1	17.1	14.4	11.4	49.1	3.2
Paraguay	1972	16.0	15.7	14.4	11.2	50.4	3.5
Peru	1981	14.6	14.4	13.1	10.8	54.0	3.9
Venezuela	1971	16.4	15.4	13.7	11.2	51.8	2.6

[1] Preliminary data from the 1981 census of Cuba indicate the following percentages of male population in broad age groups: 0 to 16 years, 35.3; 17 to 29 years, 22.7; 30 to 44 years, 18.8; 45 to 59 years, 12.2; 60 years and over, 11.1.

Table 3.7. Sex Ratios of Population in Selected Age Groups
(Males per 100 females)

Region and country	Year	All ages[1]	Preschool age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
			0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba[2]...............	1970	105.2	104.7	104.6	105.2	103.3	103.2	104.3	116.6
Dominican Republic..	1970	99.6	102.2	101.1	100.3	90.1	95.7	98.2	102.2
Haiti...............	1971	93.1	100.4	98.5	102.1	91.7	87.4	89.4	77.2
Jamaica.............	1970	95.5	101.5	100.9	101.1	95.9	90.3	91.1	79.5
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica..........	1973	100.6	102.8	103.5	103.5	99.8	98.3	98.5	93.2
El Salvador.........	1971	98.4	101.4	103.9	105.1	95.2	94.7	94.8	88.5
Guatemala...........	1973	100.7	102.0	103.2	105.7	96.2	97.5	98.5	98.6
Honduras............	1974	98.3	102.7	103.3	103.8	93.8	93.3	94.0	94.5
Mexico..............	1980	97.7	100.8	102.3	101.8	96.0	95.1	95.2	88.8
Nicaragua...........	1971	96.4	102.5	101.4	103.7	92.9	91.3	91.5	83.0
Panama..............	1970	102.8	103.1	101.7	103.1	98.7	101.9	103.5	96.7
SOUTH AMERICA									
Argentina...........	1970	98.7	103.3	102.6	102.5	101.8	99.6	98.7	82.7
Bolivia.............	1976	97.4	101.6	101.8	105.9	99.5	95.5	94.6	82.2
Brazil..............	1970	99.0	101.9	102.1	100.2	95.0	96.9	97.6	90.9
Chile...............	1970	95.6	102.1	100.7	100.9	95.7	94.0	93.4	80.3
Colombia............	1973	96.0	102.6	101.7	101.7	91.1	91.0	91.8	87.4
Ecuador.............	1974	99.8	102.2	102.2	103.4	98.8	98.0	98.4	89.3
Guyana..............	1970	98.8	102.0	101.3	99.7	99.1	97.2	98.2	80.1
Paraguay............	1972	98.3	103.4	103.5	106.0	99.0	95.7	96.7	76.8
Peru................	1981	96.6	102.1	102.0	103.7	97.2	96.4	97.0	89.5
Venezuela...........	1971	98.9	102.6	102.1	101.7	97.3	98.4	98.6	80.5

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[1] Totals may differ from those in table 3.1 because table 3.7 is based on unadjusted population data.

[2] Preliminary data from the 1981 census of Cuba indicate a sex ratio of 102.4 for the total population.

Table 3.8. Percent of Population Residing in Urban Areas, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Urban: Latest Two Censuses

Region and country	Years	Earlier census				Later census			
		Both sexes	Female	Male	F/M ratio of percent urban (male=1.00)	Both sexes	Female	Male	F/M ratio of percent urban (male=1.00)
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba...............	1970/81	60.3	62.1	58.6	1.06	69.0	70.7	67.4	1.05
Dominican Republic.	1960/70	30.3	32.5	28.0	1.16	39.7	41.9	37.6	1.11
Haiti..............	1971	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	20.4	22.6	18.0	1.25
Jamaica............	1960/70	33.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	41.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica.........	1963/73	34.5	36.7	32.2	1.14	40.6	42.8	38.4	1.11
El Salvador........	1961/71	38.5	40.4	36.5	1.11	39.5	41.4	37.7	1.10
Guatemala..........	1964/73	33.6	35.0	32.2	1.09	36.4	37.8	35.0	1.08
Honduras...........	1961/74	23.2	24.4	22.1	1.10	31.4	32.7	30.0	1.09
Mexico.............	1960/70	50.7	52.0	49.4	1.05	58.7	59.7	57.7	1.03
Nicaragua..........	1963/71	40.9	43.6	38.1	1.14	47.7	50.3	45.0	1.12
Panama.............	1960/70	41.5	43.7	39.4	1.11	47.6	49.8	45.4	1.10
SOUTH AMERICA									
Argentina[1].........	1970/80	79.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Bolivia............	1950/76	35.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	41.7	42.4	41.1	1.03
Brazil.............	1960/70	44.7	46.2	48.1	1.07	55.9	57.4	54.5	1.05
Chile..............	1960/70	68.2	70.8	65.5	1.08	75.1	77.1	73.1	1.05
Colombia...........	1964/73	52.0	54.4	49.5	1.10	61.0	63.6	58.3	1.09
Ecuador............	1962/74	36.0	37.5	34.5	1.09	41.4	43.0	39.8	1.08
Guyana.............	1970	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	31.6	32.6	30.6	1.07
Paraguay...........	1962/72	35.8	37.4	34.2	1.09	37.4	39.2	35.6	1.10
Peru...............	1972/81	59.5	59.7	59.4	1.01	64.9	65.2	64.5	1.01
Venezuela..........	1971	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	73.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1] Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 1975.

Table 3.9. Average Annual Population Growth Rates, by Rural/Urban Residence, Between the Latest Two Census Rounds

(In percent)

Region and country	Years	Total	Rural	Urban
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba........................	1970/81	1.1	-1.1	2.4
Dominican Republic...........	1960/70	2.9	1.4	5.8
Haiti........................	1950/71	1.6	(NA)	(NA)
Jamaica......................	1960/70	1.4	(NA)	(NA)
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica...................	1963/73	3.3	2.4	5.0
El Salvador..................	1961/71	3.4	3.3	3.7
Guatemala....................	1964/73	2.1	1.6	3.0
Honduras.....................	1961/74	2.7	1.8	5.0
Mexico.......................	1960/70	3.4	1.5	4.9
Nicaragua....................	1963/71	2.5	1.3	4.5
Panama.......................	1960/70	3.1	1.9	4.6
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina....................	1960/70	1.6	(NA)	(NA)
Bolivia......................	1950/76	2.7	(NA)	(NA)
Brazil.......................	1960/70	2.8	0.6	5.1
Chile........................	1960/70	2.0	-0.6	3.0
Colombia.....................	1964/73	1.8	-0.4	3.5
Ecuador......................	1962/74	3.3	2.5	4.5
Guyana.......................	1960/70	2.2	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay.....................	1962/72	2.7	2.4	3.1
Peru.........................	1972/81	2.5	1.0	3.4
Venezuela....................	1961/71	3.3	(NA)	(NA)

Table 3.10. Percent of Migrants Among Total Population and in Province of the Capital City

Region and country	Year	Migrants in the total population		Migrants in the province of the capital city	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba	1981	11.5	10.5	30.7	27.0
Jamaica	1970	25.5	22.2	46.6	38.4
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica	1973	19.4	19.0	21.3	18.1
El Salvador	1971	15.5	14.2	32.4	27.3
Mexico	1970	15.1	14.0	35.3	31.2
Panama	1970	19.2	17.9	33.7	30.8
SOUTH AMERICA					
Bolivia	1976	10.2	11.1	8.0	7.1
Brazil	1970	14.0	14.7	26.7	26.8
Chile	1970	(NA)	(NA)	34.3	30.0
Colombia	1973	21.5	19.7	52.0	46.2
Peru	1981	18.2	20.3	39.8	40.2
Venezuela	1971	23.3	22.7	(NA)	(NA)

Note: Migrants are defined as persons born in a province other than that in which they lived at the time of enumeration in the census.

Table 3.11. Sex Ratios of Rural Population in Selected Age Groups

(Males per 100 females)

Region and country	Year	All ages	Pre-school age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
			0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba................	1970	115.0	104.8	105.6	107.9	107.8	114.0	118.2	178.7
Dominican Republic..	1970	106.9	102.6	103.1	107.4	102.4	105.4	108.8	122.4
Haiti...............	1971	98.6	99.9	100.5	112.2	102.4	94.1	96.2	82.9
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica..........	1973	108.2	102.8	104.0	106.5	112.1	109.9	111.1	126.1
El Salvador.........	1971	104.6	101.6	106.1	108.5	103.5	102.7	103.8	111.5
Guatemala...........	1973	105.3	102.2	104.2	109.5	103.0	103.6	105.2	116.7
Honduras............	1974	102.2	102.6	103.6	107.1	101.9	98.6	99.9	107.5
Mexico..............	1970	104.6	103.0	104.5	109.0	104.9	102.6	103.4	112.7
Nicaragua...........	1971	106.7	103.3	104.4	112.4	108.5	105.1	106.6	119.8
Panama..............	1970	112.0	102.3	103.0	110.3	122.1	116.7	118.8	123.3
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia.............	1976	99.6	101.3	102.5	110.2	102.7	98.2	97.3	87.3
Brazil..............	1970	105.8	101.8	103.0	104.6	105.3	106.1	108.0	112.9
Chile...............	1970	112.6	102.0	103.9	110.0	121.3	119.0	119.7	110.2
Colombia............	1973	109.9	103.3	104.6	112.5	120.1	111.7	113.2	114.5
Ecuador.............	1974	105.5	102.3	103.3	109.6	110.8	106.3	106.9	99.2
Guyana..............	1970	102.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay............	1972	104.0	103.5	105.1	111.8	102.5	103.1	103.0	88.1
Peru................	1981	101.0	101.2	102.6	108.0	101.5	98.6	99.2	95.0

Table 3.12. Sex Ratios of Urban Population in Selected Age Groups
(Males per 100 females)

Region and country	Year	All ages	Pre-school age 0 to 4 years	School age 5 to 9 years	School age 10 to 14 years	School age 15 to 19 years	Reproductive age 15 to 49 years	Working age 15 to 64 years	Elderly 65 years and over
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba................	1970	99.2	104.7	103.9	102.9	99.9	97.1	96.9	96.6
Dominican Republic..	1970	89.5	101.3	97.8	89.6	76.0	84.1	84.9	74.9
Haiti...............	1971	74.4	102.9	90.3	74.5	66.2	67.0	67.9	52.9
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica..........	1973	90.3	102.7	102.4	98.6	86.0	85.5	84.9	75.9
El Salvador.........	1971	89.6	100.8	99.9	99.8	85.7	84.9	84.0	68.8
Guatemala...........	1973	93.1	101.8	101.3	99.1	86.5	88.4	88.7	79.6
Honduras............	1974	90.4	102.9	102.3	96.7	80.9	84.2	83.7	72.6
Mexico..............	1970	96.2	103.6	103.4	101.6	92.5	92.2	92.0	79.7
Nicaragua...........	1971	86.2	101.5	98.0	95.1	79.9	79.0	78.2	61.7
Panama..............	1970	93.6	104.2	99.9	95.0	81.8	89.7	90.8	76.4
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia.............	1976	94.4	102.1	100.7	100.3	96.3	92.3	91.3	71.8
Brazil..............	1970	93.9	102.0	101.2	96.5	87.7	90.9	91.0	79.5
Chile...............	1970	90.6	102.1	99.5	97.8	89.1	87.8	86.8	71.9
Colombia............	1973	88.1	102.0	99.4	95.4	79.0	81.2	81.6	74.1
Ecuador.............	1974	92.3	101.9	100.4	95.3	86.8	88.6	88.5	75.9
Guyana..............	1970	92.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay............	1972	89.5	103.3	100.3	96.7	94.7	86.2	85.3	63.8
Peru................	1981	97.8	102.7	101.7	101.3	95.4	95.5	96.0	86.0

Table 3.13. Percent Distribution of Female Population Residing in Rural and Urban Areas, by Selected Age Groups

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Rural				Urban			
		Total	0 to 14 years	15 to 49 years	50 years and over	Total	0 to 14 years	15 to 49 years	50 years and over
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba................	1970	100.0	43.7	44.7	11.7	100.0	33.0	48.1	18.9
Dominican Republic..	1970	100.0	50.3	41.1	8.5	100.0	42.9	47.9	9.2
Haiti...............	1971	100.0	40.7	46.8	12.5	100.0	37.4	52.2	10.4
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica..........	1973	100.0	49.0	42.1	8.8	100.0	36.0	50.8	13.4
El Salvador.........	1971	100.0	49.7	41.5	8.8	100.0	39.1	48.2	12.7
Guatemala...........	1973	100.0	47.5	44.2	8.3	100.0	39.5	49.3	11.3
Honduras............	1974	100.0	49.6	41.7	8.6	100.0	41.3	49.0	9.7
Mexico..............	1970	100.0	48.3	41.8	9.8	100.0	43.2	46.1	10.8
Nicaragua...........	1971	100.0	50.2	41.9	7.8	100.0	43.0	46.1	10.9
Panama..............	1970	100.0	49.4	40.5	10.1	100.0	37.5	49.9	12.6
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia.............	1976	100.0	41.9	44.2	13.9	100.0	38.2	51.1	10.7
Brazil..............	1970	100.0	46.9	44.0	9.0	100.0	37.5	50.3	11.9
Chile...............	1970	100.0	45.2	40.7	14.1	100.0	36.0	49.1	15.0
Colombia............	1973	100.0	49.2	41.3	9.5	100.0	39.3	50.3	10.4
Ecuador.............	1974	100.0	46.8	42.1	11.2	100.0	40.0	48.9	11.1
Paraguay............	1972	100.0	47.9	41.0	11.1	100.0	36.5	49.1	14.3
Peru................	1981	100.0	45.3	42.1	12.6	100.0	38.1	50.7	11.2

Table 3.14. Percent Distribution of Women Age 15 to 49 Years, by Rural/Urban Residence, 1960's and 1970's, and Rural/Urban Ratios of the Two Populations
(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Years	1960's Total	1960's Rural	1960's Urban	1960's R/U ratio (urban= 1.00)	1970's Total	1970's Rural	1970's Urban	1970's R/U ratio (urban= 1.00)
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba...............	1970	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	100.0	36.1	63.9	0.56
Dominican Republic.	1960/70	100.0	63.3	36.7	1.72	100.0	54.4	45.6	1.19
Haiti..............	1971	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	100.0	75.4	24.6	3.06
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica.........	1963/73	100.0	59.3	40.7	1.45	100.0	52.6	47.4	1.11
El Salvador........	1961/71	100.0	57.2	42.8	1.34	100.0	55.0	45.0	1.22
Guatemala..........	1964/73	100.0	63.2	36.8	1.72	100.0	59.6	40.4	1.48
Honduras...........	1961/74	100.0	73.6	26.4	2.79	100.0	63.7	36.3	1.75
Mexico.............	1960/70	100.0	46.7	53.3	0.88	100.0	38.0	62.0	0.61
Nicaragua..........	1963/71	100.0	54.7	45.3	1.21	100.0	47.3	52.7	0.90
Panama.............	1960/70	100.0	51.9	48.1	1.08	100.0	45.0	55.0	0.82
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia............	1976	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	100.0	54.1	45.9	1.18
Brazil.............	1960/70	100.0	50.9	49.1	1.04	100.0	39.4	60.6	0.65
Chile..............	1960/70	100.0	25.7	74.3	0.35	100.0	19.7	80.2	0.24
Colombia...........	1964/73	100.0	42.5	57.5	0.74	100.0	32.0	68.0	0.47
Ecuador............	1962/74	100.0	61.1	38.9	1.57	100.0	53.3	46.7	1.14
Paraguay...........	1962/72	100.0	59.4	40.6	1.46	100.0	56.4	43.6	1.29
Peru...............	1961/72	100.0	50.3	49.7	1.01	100.0	36.9	63.1	0.58

Chapter 4

Literacy and Education

Education and literacy exercise important direct and indirect influences on women's family relationships, childbearing, and economic activity. Scholars are discovering that women's education is contradictory in many of its effects. Education may, for example, postpone marriage and shorten a woman's childbearing span so that she bears fewer children. At the same time, however, access to new information may improve a woman's health and her ability to conceive and carry a child to term.

How education bears on women's family roles, fertility, and work is a complex topic that is engaging increasing attention (Cochrane, 1979). Whatever the final outcome of the scholarly debates, women and men in Latin America and the Caribbean increasingly view literacy and education for women as positive enhancements to their status. In past times when women stayed at home, even educated men often did not seek wives who had been to school. Fathers and mothers believed that schooling would detract from a daughter's chances to marry. Today, however, education and literacy are considered prerequisites for entering the labor market, especially for securing better-paying jobs in the formal sector. Families at all class levels except the privileged elites depend on multiple income earning of all able-bodied adult members (and sometimes their child members) for survival. Because of the presumed link between education and employment, learning has become the greatest single aspiration of young and old at all socioeconomic levels throughout the hemisphere, for women and men alike.

Worldwide, female enrollment in school increased at the first, second, and third levels of education between 1950 and 1975 (UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook 1982*), although the momentum slowed somewhat in the decade of the 1960's (McGrath, 1976, p.18; Newland, 1979, p. 27). In many world areas, percentage increases in enrollment have been greater for girls than for boys over the past two to three decades, but absolute numbers of women not enrolled also have increased, as the numbers of young children reaching school age have outstripped the ability of many nations to provide sufficient teachers and classrooms.

In spite of increased enrollments, women still account for an estimated two-thirds of the world's illiterate population (McGrath, 1976, p. 44; Population Reference Bureau, 1980). In the developing world, only 32 percent of adult women and 52 percent of adult men are literate (Population Reference Bureau, 1980). In relative terms, women's literacy rates are improving in many countries, so that increasingly higher percentages of women can read and write. Yet, the absolute numbers of illiterates continue to rise. Between 1960 and 1970, the world's illiterate men rose by 8 million, but illiterate women increased by 40 million (McGrath, 1976, p. 44; Newland, 1979, p. 29).

In comparison to other world areas, women in most countries of Latin America and the Caribbean register on the high side of educational indicators, both in relation to their numbers in the total population and in relation to men. School enrollment for girls nearly doubled between 1965 and 1977 at the first and second levels (Inter-American Development Bank, 1982, p. 133). In the early school years, girls sometimes participate at slightly higher rates than boys, and at the secondary level the two sexes often are at or near parity. Large differences in registration between women and men generally are found only at the university level, where far fewer women are in school in relation to their numbers in the total population. Far fewer women than men are enrolled in post-secondary institutions, whether at universities or at vocational schools. In some countries, differences also begin to appear between 15 to 19 year old women and men in rural areas.

This situation is a great improvement over women's educational opportunities in former times. During the first centuries of colonial rule, secondary education was reserved for boys, usually in *liceos* or *colegios* directed by Jesuits or Dominicans who were not allowed by their rules to educate women. Girls, for the most part, went unlettered. A few secondary schools for girls were started under private auspices, but few survived their foundresses. Mass compulsory primary education for all (as an ideal, if not yet a reality in most Latin American and Caribbean countries) is a post-World War II phenomenon.

In a few countries, notably Chile and Argentina, education for girls in public *liceos* was inaugurated as early as the last decades of the 19th century. The University of Chile graduated Latin America's first two women medical doctors (in obstetrics and gynecology) in 1887. In contrast, the National University in Colombia accepted its first woman student only in 1936. As late as 1907, after the sister of the rector of Cuzco University (Peru) received her degree, the townspeople would throw holy water as she passed (Chaney, 1979, pp. 55-56).

In spite of women's relatively good showing at the first and second educational levels in many Latin American and Caribbean countries, there is no reason for complacency. In a large number of countries, enrollment and literacy rates are comparatively low for both women and men, particularly in the rural areas of Central America and the Andean countries where more women than men often speak only the indigenous languages (46 percent in Bolivia and 52 percent in Peru, according to their latest censuses). Although there have been efforts in several countries to teach the indigenous languages and to conduct certain courses in these tongues, as well as in Spanish, none has been enduring or successful. In the English-speaking Caribbean, however, both literacy and enrollment rates are the highest in the developing world, and Barbados outstrips all others with its 99 percent literate population (UNESCO, 1979, p. 10; UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook 1981*).

As with other indicators, educational statistics need to be interpreted with caution (the following section discusses the problems in detail). Literacy rates, for example, may measure different degrees of literacy in different countries, and indicate little about the qualifications of persons classified as literate for further schooling, vocational training, or the work force. Even though there may be little difference in rates of enrollment between the sexes in many countries, the curricula for girls and boys may differ considerably even during the primary school years. At the post-primary level, young men study mathematics, science, industrial, and agricultural arts, while young women enroll in home economics or, at best, commercial courses. At the university level, women cluster in the faculties of liberal and fine arts or the helping professions.

Some women now participate in vocational training, at either the post-primary level or post-secondary level, but they are concentrated overwhelmingly among the nonsupervisory worker trainees, while most of the managerial and technical training places are reserved for men (Derryck, 1979, p. 50). Often women in vocational institutes are channeled into recognized "feminine" specialties that reinforce their secondary position in the labor market (Chang and Ducci, 1977, p. 23). For example, in none of the 10 government-sponsored institutes examined in seven countries, did more than a handful of women choose specialties such as industrial or auto mechanics, graphic arts, industrial design, construction, electricity and electronics, radio repair, plumbing, or cabinet making; instead they were placed in courses in leatherwork, food preparation and processing, or operation of industrial sewing machines (ibid., p. 21). Moreover, in most of these institutes the participation of women (around 1974) was itself very restricted, ranging from a low of 3.6 percent of women in the Servicio Nacional de Adiestramiento de Industria y Turismo in Peru, to a high of 42.5 percent in the Colombian Ministry of Labor's Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (ibid., p. 18). In the English-speaking Caribbean, about 15 percent of men and 9 percent of women have received job training (Massiah, 1981a, p. 82).

In some places, nonformal education, which was to be the answer for those women and men who had not had a chance at formal study, has created a two-tiered educational system, with the nonformal programs tending to serve the poor, especially poor women, while academic institutions even at the primary level enroll those who are economically somewhat better off. Moreover, nonformal education programs for women still are dominated by handicraft and homemaking courses (Non-Formal Education Exchange, 1978, p. 5).

Women who do manage to complete third level formal education and beyond find that their options and opportunities increase dramatically. There is some evidence in Third World countries that educated women replace the less educated in the competition for jobs, as employers use educational requisites as a screening device even for jobs that do not require much education (Papanek, 1982). In a situation where the job market is expanding only very slowly, this has the effect of pushing poor older women out of the job market, and of placing women who are overqualified in positions where they are severely underemployed. Little data are available on the extent to which this is happening in Latin America and the Caribbean as a response to worldwide recession and the constriction of the labor market. At the time of the last round of censuses, however, the job market was expanding in Latin America for both women and men, and professionals were in short supply in many fields. In this situation, barriers fall and women find employment even in fields traditionally reserved to men. In both Latin America and the English-speaking Caribbean, women have made notable progress in government bureaucracies, even in those ministries that do not deal specifically with women's concerns. In Jamaica, for example, directors of the government entities dealing with urban development and foreign investment promotion are women. Trained in law and public administration, many women find greater scope for advancement and challenge in the less well remunerated government service than in the male-dominated private sector. At all but the highest levels throughout the region, women are directors and subdirectors of government bureaus and ministries; as well, they often outnumber men in the lower ranks, although the top ministerial posts are still reserved mainly for men.

Women have found particular scope in those government entities that deal with health, education, and welfare. In the private sector, they also tend in the Latin American and Caribbean region to choose those professions and careers that extend their traditional mothering and nurturing roles outside the home. This strong preference for the traditionally feminine careers has profound consequences for the education of women, as will be discussed in more detail below.

Education for women is important, first of all, purely in terms of equity. Medical advances have prolonged women's lives, at the same time as contraceptive advances and decreasing mortality rates have (at least potentially) freed women from the need for continual childbearing in their younger years. Education is the necessary, if not sufficient, condition for women to be able to realize more fully their potential as human beings. Even poor women whose circumstances do not permit them the luxury of education for self realization benefit from sufficient primary education to guarantee their literacy, and from the kinds of training that help them to increase their earning potential. Women who are educated exercise more power in the family and have more say in decisionmaking.

It is important, however, to educate girls and women not only for their own sake but also for the effect their education has on many aspects of community and national life. Reviewing the evidence, Cochrane (1979, pp. 146-147) concludes that educated women tend to marry later and to reduce their demand for children, as measured by desired family size, as well as to increase their knowledge and use of contraceptives.[1] There are indications in the literature that the children of educated women are healthier and better nourished (World Bank, 1980, p. 50). Harrison (1977, p. 125) has correlated level of mother's education with infant mortality (birth to 2 years old) for the city of San Salvador. The death rate for children of illiterate mothers was 184 deaths per 1,000 children under 2 years, while the death rate for children of mothers with 7 or more years of education dropped to 37 per 1,000. Children of literate or educated mothers also are more likely to attend school and to retain literacy and numeracy (Derryck, 1979, p. 128).

Educated women also add to the productive human resources available to a country, resources that cannot be fully utilized until women have access to education on an equal basis with men. Again, the precise ways in which education influences women's participation in the formal labor market are not well known. Standing's (1978, pp. 161-62) review of the evidence suggests that while there is no clear, universal association between women's education and their labor force participation, nevertheless as women gain greater access to education, traditional barriers to their employment in higher-income occupations tend to break down, and their employment opportunities are enhanced. At the same time, the cultural restrictions to their active participation tend to be weakened.

There is some evidence that women with lower levels of education have higher rates of labor force participation than those with somewhat higher levels, with the relationship becoming positive again at still higher educational levels (ibid., pp. 150-153). This would coincide with the knowledge that poor women often must work, while the highly educated with a profession have a strong motivation for exercising a career. Those in the middle might have neither the same desire to work, nor employment opportunities.

Even poor women without much prospect of steady, formal-sector jobs can benefit from training. The turn towards consideration of the world's poor as the first priority in development brought with it increased attention to traditional agriculture and the urban informal sector, where 60 to 80 percent of the poor (depending on the country) are employed. Such a turn has profound educational implications, particularly for women, since it is in these two sectors that most of the world's women work. Studies by the World Bank indicate that even poor education in the basic skills produces better workers (Heyneman, 1983, p.8), and hence better pay. In the last two decades of the 20th century, it will be a serious challenge to assist women in making advances, however incremental, in their education for work in a situation where few realistically will find employment in the formal labor market.

Data Availability

The WID Data Base provides information on female and male enrollment in school at the time of the 1970 census round, as well as data on the literate population. There are several difficulties with taking these two measures as unqualified indicators of educational levels. Literacy, for example, is notoriously difficult to measure, and it is unclear to what degree such a measure may be comparable across countries. McGrath (1976, p. 16) notes that even the minimal ability to write one's name sometimes is accepted by census takers as evidence of literacy. Moreover, it is not clear how long newly literate persons retain their skills; there is general agreement that completion of 4 or 5 years of schooling is necessary for lifelong retention of literacy. The 12- to 18-month crash campaigns have not proven adequate to guarantee continued literacy, especially among women who often have less opportunity than men to use their new skills in reading and writing.

Enrollment data also present some difficulties in interpretation. Such data have the usual drawback of all measures taken at one point in time, that is, they do not reveal how many persons enrolled at the time of the census or survey actually complete I year or one level of schooling and/or go on to the next. In the world's 36 poorest countries (with a Gross National Product in 1975 of less than $265 a year), average enrollment at all levels of primary education increased from 48 percent of school-age children in 1960 to 70 percent in 1977 (Heyneman, 1983, p. 18). However, there were 50 percent more children enrolled in grade 1 than in grade 4, indicating that while many children start school, not all are destined to complete even the first level of education. Enrollment statistics also can be extremely difficult to analyze over time. The number of children in the primary age group in Colombia, for example, doubled between 1950 and 1970; in the 1970's, it increased only slightly, then fell (World Bank, 1980, p. 40). In order not to misjudge the situation in Colombia, one would need to interpret the absolute numbers enrolled, as well as the numbers enrolled as a proportion of the total population, in light of Colombia's diminishing population in the young age groups.

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[1] However, the same author points out that the total effect of education on fertility is uncertain for reasons mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Not only may the educated woman's increased knowledge and access to health care improve her chances of bearing a healthy child, but as well she may give up traditional practices (for example, prolonged lactation and postpartum abstinence) that also tend to reduce fertility) (ibid.).

Educational attainment data, more useful in many instances than enrollment statistics, are difficult to obtain and sometimes are not disaggregated by sex. The World Bank (1980, p. 47) estimates that in developing countries, 40 percent of those who enroll in primary school do not continue beyond their fourth year. In Peru in 1973, for example, 45 percent of women had completed their primary education, but only 15 percent had finished secondary level schooling, and only a meager 3 percent had received diplomas in an institute of higher education (comparative attainment figures for men were 54, 19, and 5 percent, respectively) (Villalobos, 1975, table 1, pp. 1-14).

Chang and Ducci (1977, pp. 45-48) estimate that average educational attainment in South America is about 5 years of primary school; Argentina, Venezuela, Costa Rica, and the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean register slightly higher in terms of completed years of schooling. Women show attainment levels consistently lower than men in many countries; moreover, there has been a deterioration in women's position in some countries, for example, in Mexico and Peru in the 1970's compared to the 1960's (ibid., p. 47).

Another difficulty in using census data is that the conventional 5-year age groups in which most enrollment data are available are not congruent with the Latin American school system. In many countries, the prescribed age for children to enter first grade is 6 or 7 years old, not 5 years. In Peru, for example, children in pre-school institutions number only about 6 percent of children under 6 years old (Villalobos, 1975, table 1, pp.1-14).[2] The prescribed age for entering school in El Salvador is 7 years (Harrison, 1977, p. 136), but the census reports enrollment for those 6 years old and over. In most Latin American countries, children complete 6 years of education at the first level, and 5 or 6 years at the second level. This puts young women and men into post-secondary education at ages 16 or 17 years. Thus, in Peru, one-half of the 10 to 14 year olds are still in primary school, while in the 15 to 19 year old group, one half is already at university age (Villalobos, 1975, table 4-5, pp.17-8). Nor are children necessarily enrolled in the proper year for their age group. In El Salvador (1972), for example, only 34 percent of those entering the first grade were 7 years old, the proper age, while 21 percent were 10 to 14 years of age. The four age categories employed in this handbook thus correspond only very roughly to the actual ages of students at the various levels of education in Latin America.

Census statistics do not reveal the quality of education. Bolivia, for example, spent only about 80 U.S. cents per pupil on furniture and materials in the average fourth grade classroom in 1978, one-sixtieth of what was spent in Maryland, U.S.A. (Heyneman, 1983, p. 29). Funding certainly is not the only indicator of educational quality, but because of the lack of teaching tools and the poor preparation of teachers in the developing countries, "their pupils leave school with far fewer skills than their counterparts in the developed world" (ibid.). It is not certain whether there is much difference in the amounts spent on girls' education as on boys' education in Latin America, but there do appear to be differences in most world regions (Derryck, 1979, p. 53).

Nor do census or educational survey data give clues about the disparity in education among social classes. As McGrath (1976, p. 15) points out, access to education is governed by many factors besides age, sex, and rural/urban residence, including religion, ethnic group affiliation, and economic class. McGrath notes that within each geographic region or ethnic group, female rates of enrollment and literacy are almost always lower than male rates. Related to class and economic considerations is the fact that, in Latin America, a great deal of education takes place in expensive private schools under both religious and secular sponsorship. The student bodies, curricula, and quality of education in these schools may differ dramatically from those in public institutions. This does not mean that educational data are not collected from private sources, but often they are "limited, not very reliable or sometimes totally nonexistent" (León de Leal and Bonilla de Ramos, 1976, p. 95).

Enrollment and Literacy as Educational Indicators for Women

Census data have the advantage of providing indicators that are roughly comparable among countries and regions. They are the only such data available. While these data must be analyzed with the cautions suggested above, they do provide significant information in delineating the educational situation of women in Latin America.

In the 1970's, the percentage of persons who were literate, as well as those enrolled in school, showed wide variation among countries, as tables 4.1 and 4.3 demonstrate. Among South American countries, Argentina and Chile register high female rates on both enrollment and literacy. The other South American countries fall in a middle group, with Colombia and Venezuela showing higher female literacy rates than other countries in this group, while enrollment rates in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and Guyana fall lower than in other middle-range countries. High/low rates for girls often are paralleled by high/low rates for boys, except in Bolivia and Peru, where female/male ratios demonstrate a wide gap between women and men on both literacy and enrollment indexes.

Jamaica and some other English-speaking Caribbean islands (not shown) register high rates of literacy and enrollment among both women and men. Barbados and Trinidad/Tobago are particularly high on both indexes, while the smaller islands (St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, etc.) tend to fall in a middle range (Population Reference Bureau, 1980).

Among the Latin American subregions, the Middle American countries show the lowest rates on both literacy and enrollment indexes, except for Costa Rica and Panama, where both measures show high rates. Mexico is a special case, in that literacy rates are available for 1980 (putting Mexico in the highest category), while enrollment rates for 1970 suggest that

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[2] Nortman (1982, table 3, pp. 34-36) has charted eligible age groups for the three levels of education for most countries of the world.

Mexico, at that time, was similar to its Central American neighbors. Female/male differentials in enrollment and literacy levels are not substantial in Middle America, except in Guatemala where rates are about one-fourth higher among men.

In several countries, encompassing those with both high and low literacy, women's rates are equal to or outstrip men's rates; these rates are plotted on figure 4.1. Differences in literacy rates between rural and urban populations are substantial for both women and men, as table 4.1 shows. Figure 4.2 illustrates the literacy gap between rural and urban women and men.

Urban women in most countries with available data are almost on a par with men (table 4.1) so far as literacy is concerned; in the rural areas, some differences appear for all countries except Costa Rica, as figure 4.2 demonstrates. The largest gaps between rural women and men are found in Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti, and Peru. The same figure reveals greater differences between rural and urban women than between rural and urban men in nine of fifteen countries for which data are available; these differences are particularly marked in Bolivia and Peru. In Bolivia, Guatemala, and Peru, many rural women speak only an indigenous language, while rural men who are conscripted into the army learn to read and write Spanish, thus erasing some of the difference between themselves and urban men. The same reasoning may explain the discrepancy in rural rates of literacy between women and men in Haiti; men who serve in the army become literate in French, while many women speak only Haitian Creole. Some written materials are available in the indigenous Andean languages, as well as in Creole, but the major languages of instruction and communication are Spanish and French.

Literacy rates for some countries appear high in relation to what other sources reveal about the proportions of women who are without schooling. For example, 43 percent of rural Ecuadorian women and 57 percent of rural Bolivian women lack any kind of schooling (Luzuriaga, 1980, p. 34; Comisión Económica para America Latina, 1982b, table 14, p. 50). As the Luzuriaga study points out, "it is probable that the proportion of female illiterates is very much higher than what the census records, since among women who have only 1 to 3 years of primary schooling, a large percent will have lapsed into illiteracy through disuse" (ibid.). Brody (1981, p. 88), summarizing evidence from official sources and government reports, puts literacy in Jamaica at only 50 percent of the adult population.

In considering the percent literate among age groups, the differences are more substantial between women and men at 35 years of age and over, than between women and men at 15 to 24 years of age (table 4.2). In the younger age group, literacy rates are more nearly equal, and countries with low rates for women usually have corresponding low rates for men (with the exceptions of Bolivia and Guatemala noted above). In 10 of the 18 countries for which data are available, proportionately more women than men are literate among the 15 to 24 year olds, while in Jamaica, women's literacy is higher in both the younger and the older age groups.

Analyzing literacy in different age groups provides some notion of changes in literacy rates over time. Figure 4.3 plots female and male literacy rates by age. Most of the countries already high on the literacy index in the older age group show little difference between women and men in the age groups plotted on the chart, but rather dramatic improvements in women's literacy rates appear in the remaining countries when the older and younger women are compared. The improvements in men's rates are not so marked, and there is a definite leveling off of improvements, especially where literacy rates in the older age groups already are high. The exception is Brazil, where a leveling off effect in improvement of men's literacy rates has occurred even though the literacy rate among the 15 to 24 year olds is less than 75 percent.

There also is a definite trend towards closing the gap between female and male literacy rates. Considering the differences in percent literate in the two age groups, the literacy gap between women and men at the younger ages is 10 percentage points or more in only two (Bolivia and Guatemala) of the eighteen countries for which data by age are available. Among those 35 years of age and older, however, the gap between literate women and men registers 10 percentage points or more in 9 of the 18 countries. Even in countries where the literacy gap is substantial, there has been an improvement. In Bolivia, for example, the proportion literate was almost 29 percentage points higher among men than women in the older age group, but only 16 points higher among the 15 to 24 year olds.

Figure 4.4 shows the substantial rural/urban differences in percent literate between younger and older women; nevertheless, the overall pattern that emerges is one of significant progress in both rural and urban areas. Women's age-specific literacy rates fall roughly into three modal patterns of rural/urban differentials by age. In type I, the pattern is high urban literacy in all age groups (not falling below 75 percent literate, even among the older women), and a pattern of high literacy also among the younger women in rural areas, but with steady declines after age 30 years—never, however, falling much below 50 percent literate at the older ages. Type I countries following some variation of this pattern include Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, and Paraguay. The decline in literacy after age 50 is more precipitous in Panama and Paraguay than in the other two countries and the urban literacy rates are not so high in Paraguay as in the other four.

Type II countries (Bolivia, Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua) show extreme contrast between rural and urban literacy rates, indicating that attention to rural education seems to have been neglected in favor of the cities and towns, at least until recent times. Urban literacy for women registers high, especially at the younger ages (although not so high as for type I countries), but rural rates are lower, even at the younger ages. Type III countries (Ecuador and Venezuela) fall in the middle; they demonstrate less contrast between rural and urban areas, but show a steep rise in literacy between age groups, particularly in the rural rates. For the remainder of the countries, age-specific literacy rates by rural and urban residence are not available.

Table 4.3 presents enrollment rates for the total school age population, table 4.4 by selected age groups, and tables 4.5 and

4.6 in the rural and urban areas. In most cases, the highest percentages of girls and boys enrolled, in both rural and urban areas, falls among the 10 to 14 year olds. This probably is the crucial age to examine, since these children should be in school, whereas lower enrollment among the 5 to 9 year olds is often a function of a prescribed entrance age to first grade of 6 or 7 years, while among the 15 to 19 year olds, there are those who will have completed second level education yet not be enrolled in an institution of higher learning.

Figure 4.5 presents enrollment for the 10 to 14 year olds, showing that in the 1970's, Bolivia, Peru, Guyana, and Paraguay were doing better than their total enrollment figures indicated; about 80 percent of children in this age group were enrolled in school. Figure 4.6 presents rural and urban enrollment for the same age group.

The crucial points for girls' enrollment/dropout rates are at entrance to the first grade, passage to secondary level education, and matriculation at a university or other post-graduate institution. Worldwide, enrollment rates are lower and dropout rates are higher for girls than for boys (Derryck, 1979, p. 58; McGrath, 1976, p. 19). In Latin America, female enrollment as already noted is more nearly equal to male enrollment at the first two levels, and more nearly equal in urban than in rural areas. Not much information is available on wastage, but from the enrollment statistics one can infer greater wastage among young women than young men, particularly between the second and third educational levels. Already in the 15 to 19 year age group, there is a decline in female enrollment rates in relation to male rates, as well as in comparison to female rates for the 10 to 14 year age group.

The age at which young women marry is a major factor influencing the dropout rate between second and third level education (Safilios-Rothschild, 1979, p. 5). In Latin American countries, where half the women are married by age 19 or the early twenties (see table 6.2 in chapter 6), enrollment in secondary school and at university is, not surprisingly, lower, while in those countries where more women marry later, school enrollment appears to be higher. Young women also leave school (or choose not to progress to the next level) because they go to work. The typical pattern for a young rural woman is to go to the city to seek employment as a domestic servant or street vendor, jobs that do not require any particular educational qualifications (Bunster and Chaney, forthcoming). Often, too, girls do not progress beyond primary school because their village does not have any educational facilities beyond primary school. It is rare that a single young woman would set out on her own; if the family has no relatives in a town or city, the only other alternative for a girl is to board at school—a possibility within the financial reach of few rural families.

Women's enrollment and dropout rates in Latin America are also influenced by the pervasive belief, particularly prevalent in rural areas, that it is more important to educate boys than girls, whose destiny is the home and family. Time budget studies show that girls spend more time than boys in household and child care, and in assisting their mothers with their agricultural and/or trading activities (Deere, 1983; Schmink, 1982; and Bunster and Chaney, forthcoming). The different allocation of tasks between girls and boys not only cuts down study time for the girls, but it may lead them to regard their education as less important than their brothers' and their assistance to their mothers as the more appropriate preparation for their future lives. There is evidence that in Latin America, girls also are taken out of school more often than boys at times of family crises to care for younger brothers and sisters when they are ill (especially when their mothers work), or to help out at peak agricultural work seasons.

The decline between second and third level enrollment also is a function of the lower female/male ratio of those applying for admission to institutions of higher education, as well as those graduated from the second level. Other sources reveal that the numbers of women completing secondary school in some countries are nearly equal to the men; since women have the prerequisites to enroll in higher education, something else must explain why so many fewer do so than their male counterparts. This something else may be the weight of tradition which, until recently, offered women in Latin America only one honorable vocation aside from the religious life: motherhood. Today, of course, much is changing, and university enrollment of women has increased greatly since the 1960's, as table 4.[illegible] shows. Women still highly value their home and family roles, and those among the middle and upper classes who can afford higher education are in a position to educate themselves for a profession and continue to work after marriage. Society has changed its view a great deal with respect to women working outside the home after marriage, particularly in the middle class where the wife's salary is needed to maintain an accustomed life style. Educated working women continue to bear the total responsibility for household and family because servants still are abundant and cheap in most countries.

Census data do not provide information on whether children and young adults are enrolled in vocational or academic programs, or in which faculties women and men are matriculated at the university level. Other sources, however, show that Latin American women still cluster in those faculties that prepare women for the traditionally feminine careers, rather than for scientific, industrial, or commercial occupations. There is an important exception: the Latin American middle-class woman has, in some cases, taken advantage of the fact that many jobs related to the technological revolution are so new that they have not had a chance to become sex-stereotyped. Many observers have remarked on the large numbers of women entering such sex-neutral fields as statistics and computer programming, advertising and television production, journalism and social sciences. In relation to the numbers who continue to seek the more traditionally feminine professions, the numbers still are small, as table 4.8 demonstrates. Nevertheless, women have made some significant breakthroughs, as their university enrollment quadrupled between 1965 and 1977 (Inter-American Development Bank, 1981, p. 133).

Few barriers remain in Latin American institutions of higher learning that constrain women from studying whatever they wish. Clustering in the so-called feminine careers may be the result not of discrimination at the university but of a shrewd appraisal on the part of women that they will go further if they continue to choose professions that society regards as appropriate for women. Until recently, for example, women in law found it difficult to enter private practice unless a male relative took them into his office. Many women lawyers, for this reason, opt for a bureaucratic career as already noted above; while salaries are lower than in the private sector, they still earn what men earn in government positions. Several professions have become overwhelmingly female—dentistry, laboratory technology, and pharmacy, for example—in that more women than men prepare for and enter these fields in many countries. Women medical students are found overwhelmingly in gynecology, obstetrics, and pediatrics, considered female specialties in Latin America. It is worth noting that women in developed countries also face occupational sex-stereotyping; in the United States, for example, 80 percent of all women work in only 25 of the 420 occupations listed by the Department of Labor. Precisely because sex-stereotyping is so much stronger in Latin countries, however, a clear field has been left to women in many of the specialties perceived as feminine, and women have more opportunity to rise to the top levels (particularly in the public sector) than their North American counterparts. One interesting aspect of this clustering of women at policy levels in such fields may be that as societies turn from their preoccupation with modernization and industrialization, Latin American and Caribbean women will find themselves, much more than professional women in developed countries, at the center of post-industrial concerns such as values and ethical questions, communications, human relationships, the community, and the environment.

In considering women who have progressed to the third level of education, it is well to be reminded that they are very few in number (as are their male counterparts) in relation to the total numbers of women and men in their societies. The vast numbers of women still struggle on, considering themselves lucky to have 4 or 5 years of primary education, or to have the chance to learn some kind of income-generating skill in vocational or nonformal education programs. Nevertheless, the improvement of women's position in higher education has important consequences for planning and policy. One explanation for the paucity of women at these levels has been that, until recently, the pool of educated women was very small, and their preparation in traditional fields precluded their recruitment to either private or public entities dealing with development and social change. The large growth of this pool in the past two decades leaves little reason now for women's exclusion from the top levels of politics and government.

Figure 4.1. Percent Literate Among Women and Men 10 Years of Age and Over

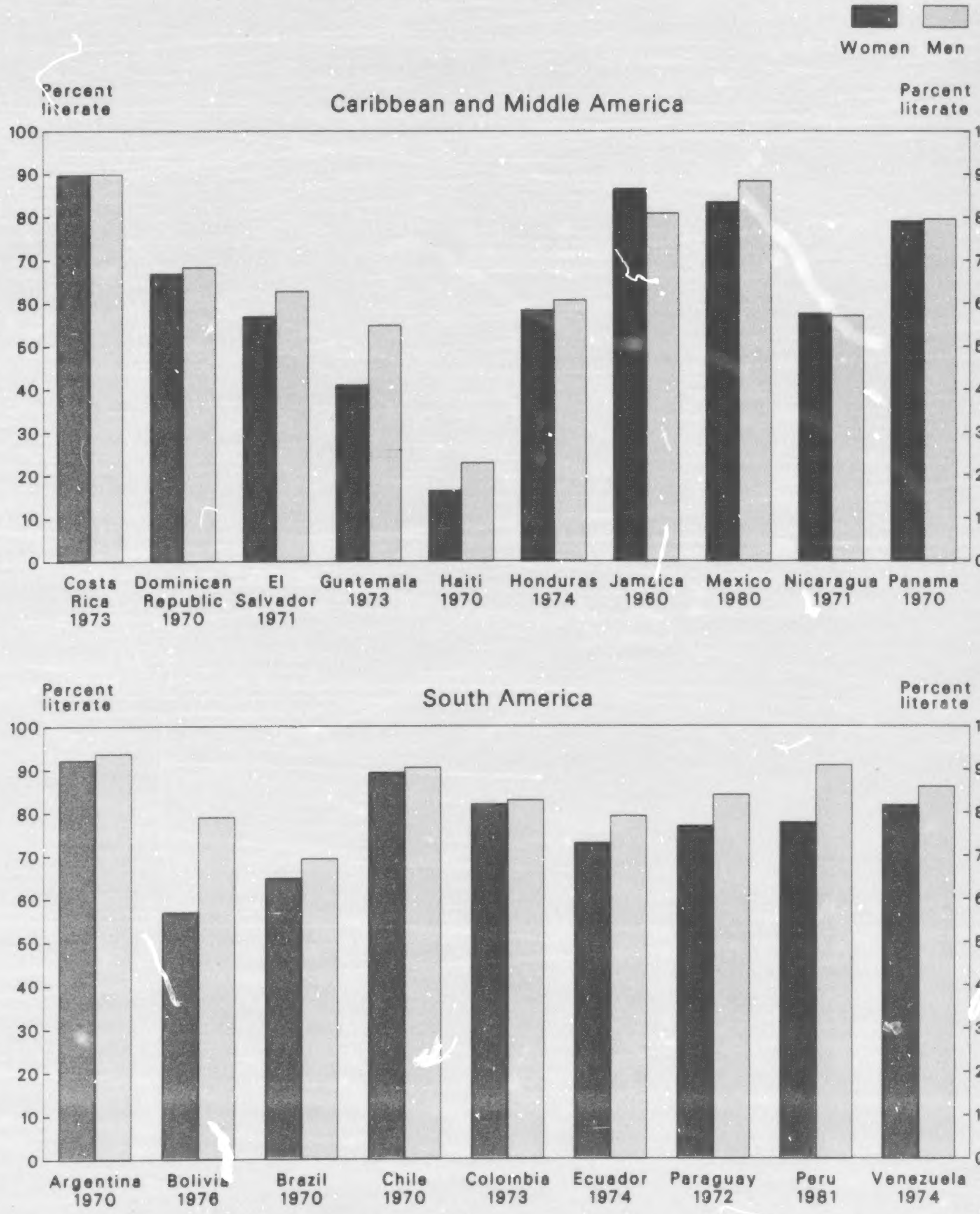

Figure 4.2. Percent Literate Among Women and Men 10 Years of Age and Over, by Rural/Urban Residence

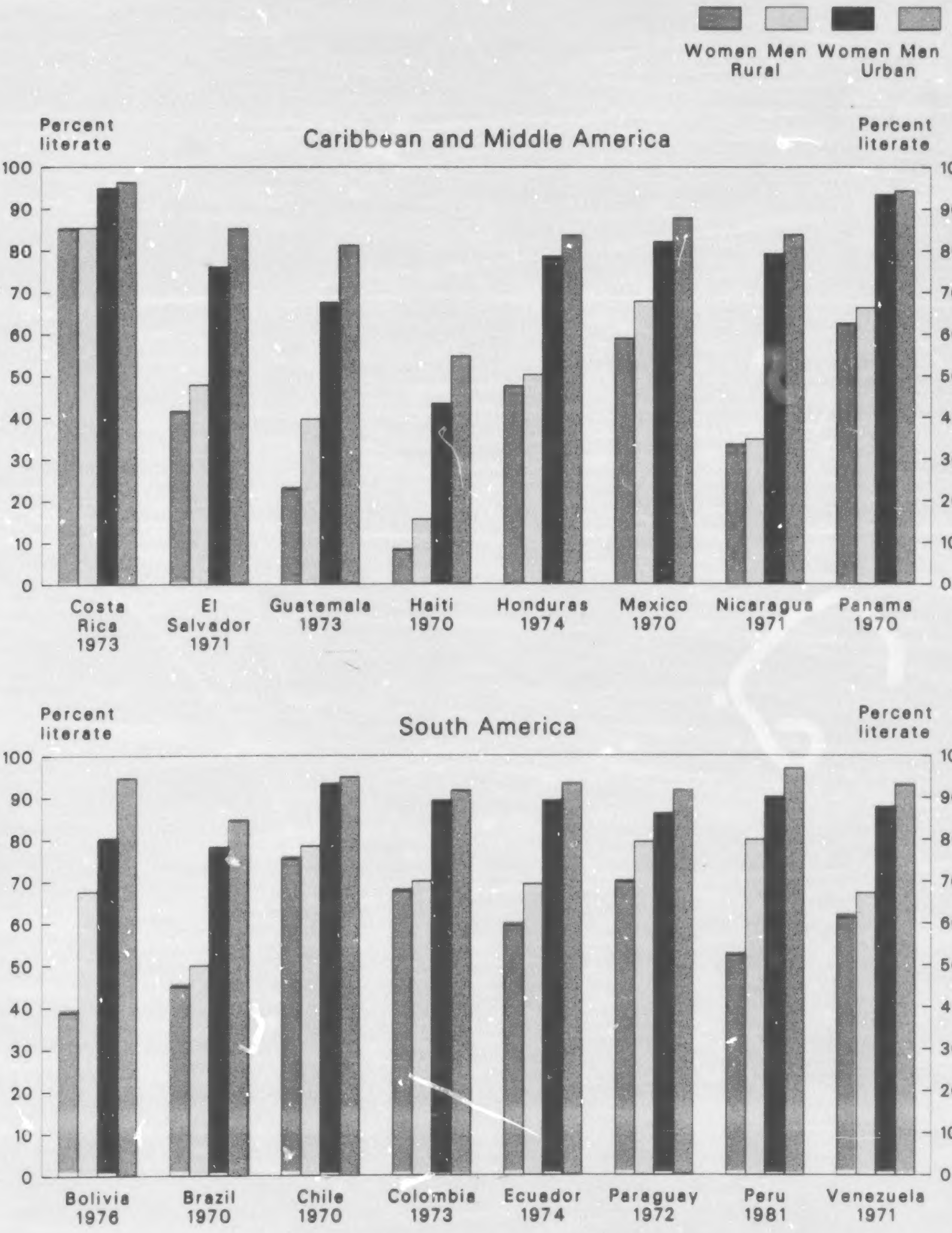

Figure 4.3. Percent Literate for Women and Men, by Age

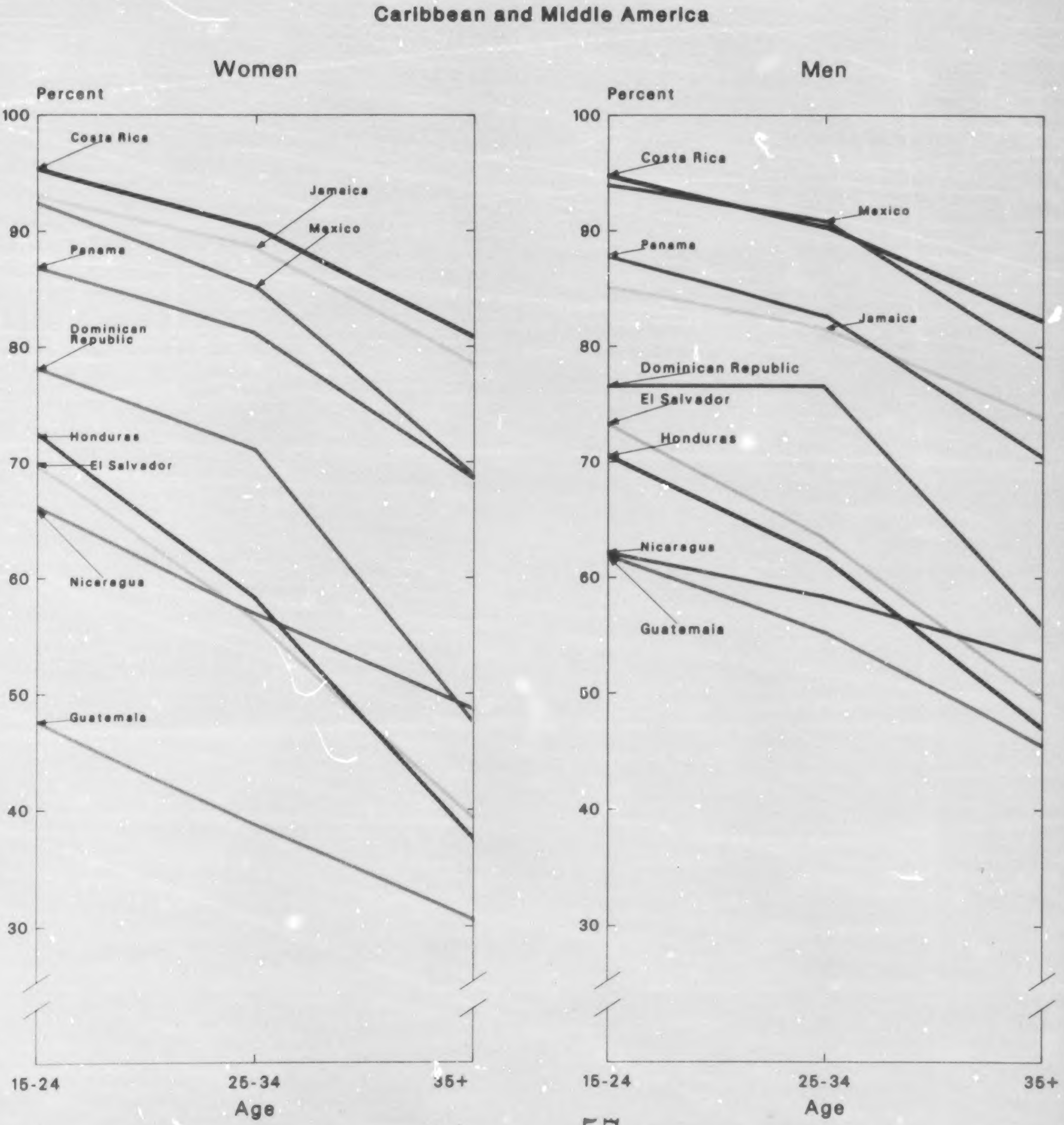

Figure 4.3. Percent Literate for Women and Men by Age--Continued

South America

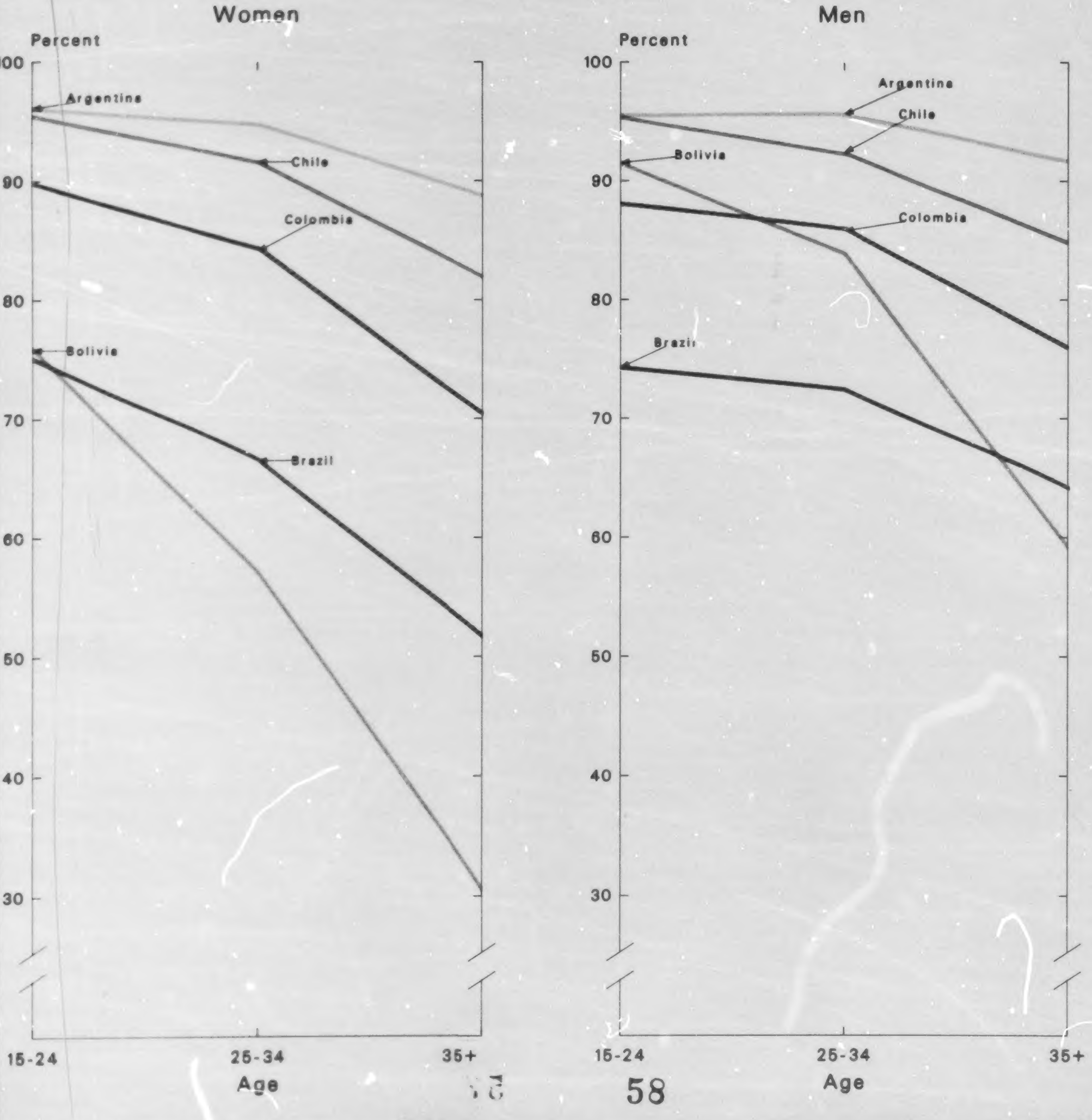

Figure 4.4 Percent Literate for Women, by Age and Rural/Urban Residence

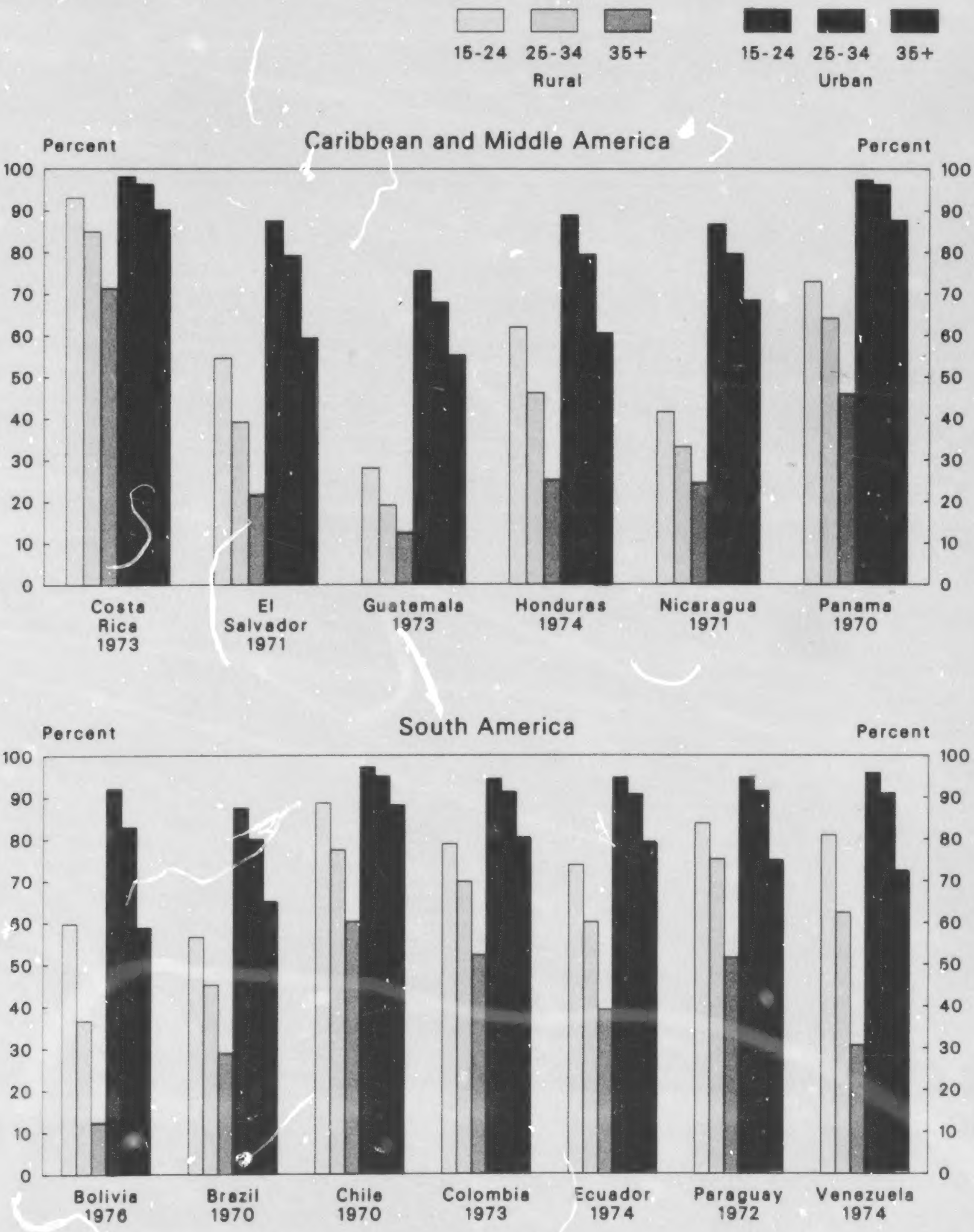

Figure 4.5. Percent Enrolled in School Among Girls and Boys 10 to 14 Years of Age

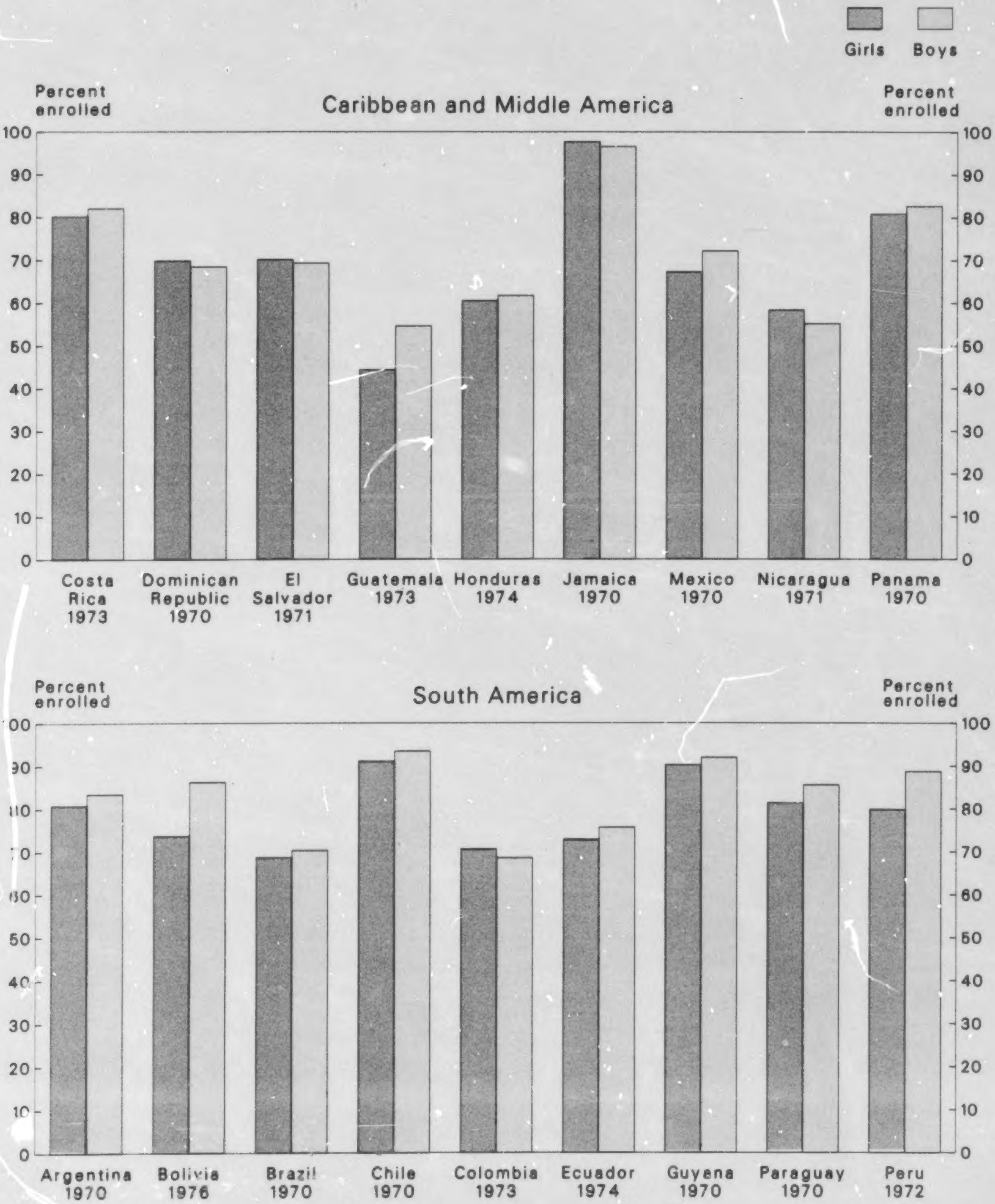

Figure 4.6. Percent Enrolled in School Among Girls and Boys 10 to 14 Years of Age, by Rural/Urban Residence

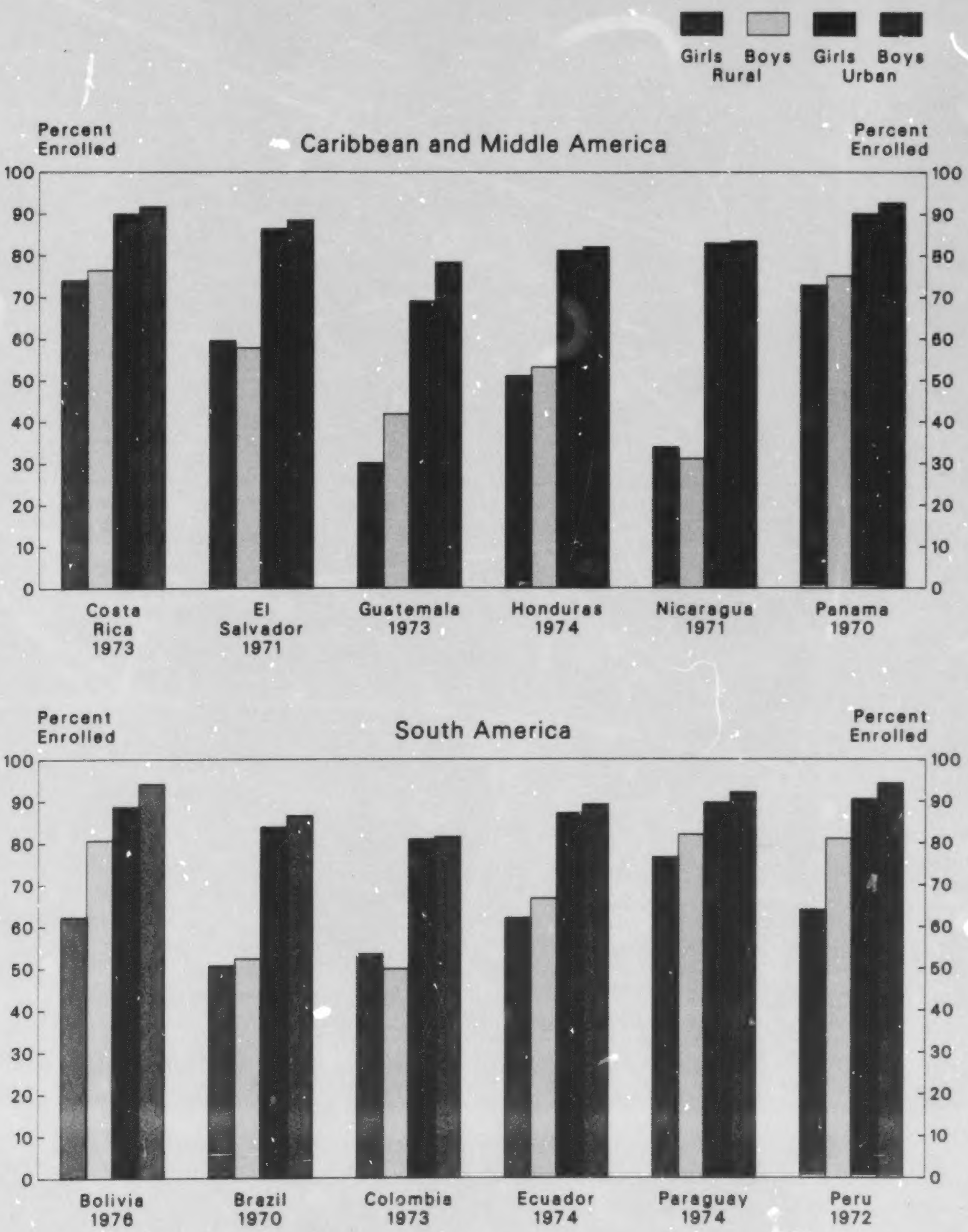

Table 4.1. Percent Literate Among Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate

Region and country	Year	Percent literate			F/M ratio of percent literate (male=1.00)
		Total	Women	Men	
Total					
CARIBBEAN					
Dominican Republic...........	1970	67.5	66.8	68.2	0.98
Haiti........................	1970	19.6	16.4	22.9	0.72
Jamaica......................	19[illegible]0	83.9	86.6	80.9	1.07
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica...................	1973	89.8	89.7	89.8	1.00
El Salvador..................	1971	59.7	56.9	62.7	0.91
Guatemala....................	1973	47.9	41.0	54.8	0.75
Honduras.....................	1974	59.5	58.4	60.7	0.96
Mexico.......................	1980	85.9	83.5	88.4	0.94
Nicaragua....................	1971	57.4	57.6	57.1	1.01
Panama.......................	1970	79.3	79.1	79.6	0.99
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina....................	1970	92.9	92.2	93.7	0.98
Bolivia......................	1976	67.6	56.8	78.9	0.72
Brazil.......................	1970	67.0	64.7	69.3	0.93
Chile........................	1970	89.8	89.2	90.4	0.99
Colombia.....................	1973	82.3	81.8	82.8	0.99
Ecuador......................	1974	75.9	72.8	79.1	0.92
Paraguay.....................	1972	80.3	76.7	84.0	0.91
Peru.........................	1981	84.1	77.5	90.9	0.85
Venezuela....................	1974	83.8	81.6	86.0	0.95

Table 4.1. Percent Literate Among Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate—Continued

Region and country	Year	Percent literate			F/M ratio of percent literate (male=1.00)
		Total	Women	Men	
Rural					
CARIBBEAN					
Dominican Republic...........	1970	57.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Haiti.......................	1970	11.8	8.1	15.5	0.52
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica..................	1973	85.3	85.2	85.4	1.00
El Salvador.................	1971	44.7	41.4	47.8	0.87
Guatemala...................	1973	31.5	22.9	39.6	0.58
Honduras....................	1974	48.8	47.4	50.2	0.94
Mexico[1]......................	1970	63.5	58.9	67.8	0.87
Nicaragua...................	1971	34.0	33.3	34.7	0.96
Panama......................	1970	64.5	62.4	66.3	0.94
SOUTH AMERICA					
Bolivia.....................	1976	53.0	38.8	67.5	0.57
Brazil......................	1970	47.4	44.9	49.8	0.90
Chile.......................	1970	76.9	75.3	78.3	0.96
Colombia....................	1973	68.8	67.6	69.9	0.97
Ecuador.....................	1974	4.4	59.3	69.2	0.86
Paraguay....................	1972	74.6	69.8	79.3	0.88
Peru........................	1981	66.0	52.2	79.8	0.65
Venezuela...................	1974	64.5	61.4	67.1	0.92

See footnote at end of table.

Table 4.1. Percent Literate Among Population Age 10 years and Over, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate—Continued

Region and country	Year	Percent literate			F/M ratio of percent literate (male=1.00)
		Total	Women	Men	
Urban					
CARIBBEAN					
Dominican Republic...........	1970	81.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Haiti........................	1970	48.2	43.3	54.7	0.79
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica...................	1973	95.6	94.9	96.3	0.99
El Salvador..................	1971	80.2	76.0	85.2	0.89
Guatemala....................	1973	74.0	67.5	81.2	0.83
Honduras.....................	1974	80.9	78.6	83.6	0.94
Mexico[1]....................	1970	84.8	82.0	87.8	0.93
Nicaragua....................	1971	81.3	79.2	83.8	0.95
Panama.......................	1970	93.9	93.5	94.4	0.99
SOUTH AMERICA					
Bolivia......................	1976	86.9	79.9	94.6	0.84
Brazil.......................	1970	81.0	77.9	84.5	0.92
Chile........................	1970	93.8	92.9	94.8	0.98
Colombia.....................	1973	90.1	88.9	91.5	0.97
Ecuador......................	1974	91.0	88.9	93.3	0.95
Paraguay.....................	1972	88.6	85.9	91.7	0.94
Peru.........................	1981	93.1	89.6	96.8	0.93
Venezuela....................	1974	90.0	87.3	92.9	0.94

[1] 1980 census data on literacy by rural/urban residence are not yet available.

Table 4.2. Percent Literate Among Women and Men in Selected Age Groups

Region and country	Year	Women			Men		
		15 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over	15 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over
CARIBBEAN							
Dominican Republic...........	1970	78.0	71.0	47.4	76.6	76.5	55.8
Jamaica......................	1960	92.9	88.5	78.5	85.0	81.6	73.7
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica...................	1973	95.4	90.2	80.7	94.8	90.3	82.2
El Salvador..................	1971	69.8	56.3	39.3	73.3	63.3	49.4
Guatemala....................	1973	47.6	38.4	30.3	61.8	55.3	45.5
Honduras.....................	1974	72.3	57.9	37.2	70.5	61.6	46.9
Mexico.......................	1980	92.3	85.2	68.7	94.0	90.9	78.9
Nicaragua....................	1971	65.9	56.7	48.5	62.2	58.2	52.7
Panama.......................	1970	86.9	81.2	68.5	87.9	82.6	70.3
SOUTH AMERICA							
Argentina....................	1970	96.1	94.8	88.8	95.6	95.6	91.7
Bolivia......................	1976	75.8	57.2	30.4	91.5	83.7	59.1
Brazil.......................	1970	75.0	66.5	51.7	74.3	72.3	64.1
Chile........................	1970	95.5	91.6	82.0	95.4	92.4	85.0
Colombia.....................	1973	89.7	84.1	70.3	88.0	85.8	76.0
Ecuador......................	1974	84.1	74.0	56.3	87.2	81.9	67.8
Paraguay.....................	1972	88.5	82.1	61.7	91.1	88.1	78.0
Peru.........................	1981	89.9	81.6	58.1	96.3	94.5	82.7
Venezuela....................	1974	92.9	84.9	62.4	92.2	89.9	74.6

Table 4.3. Percent of Population Age 5 to 24 Years Enrolled in School, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Enrolled

Region and country	Year	Percent enrolled			F/M ratio of percent enrolled (male=1.00)
		Total	Female	Male	
CARIBBEAN					
Dominican Republic...........	1970	43.9	42.9	44.9	0.96
Jamaica[1].....................	1970	81.6	82.9	80.3	1.03
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica[2]..................	1973	58.2	57.4	59.1	0.97
El Salvador[2].................	1971	41.4	40.1	42.7	0.94
Guatemala[3]...................	1973	31.0	27.1	34.8	0.78
Honduras[2]....................	1974	38.8	37.6	40.1	0.94
Mexico[2]......................	1970	46.0	43.2	48.9	0.88
Nicaragua[2]..................	1971	37.5	37.1	37.9	0.98
Panama[2]......................	1970	52.7	51.9	53.5	0.97
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina.....................	1970	52.1	51.3	52.9	0.97
Bolivia.......................	1976	50.7	45.7	55.6	0.82
Brazil........................	1970	43.9	42.9	44.9	0.96
Chile.........................	1970	63.7	62.3	65.1	0.96
Colombia......................	1973	42.5	42.1	43.0	0.98
Ecuador.......................	1974	51.6	50.0	53.1	0.94
Guyana[4]......................	1970	38.1	37.3	38.9	0.96
Paraguay[3]....................	1972	53.5	51.6	55.3	0.93
Peru..........................	1972	56.6	52.0	61.1	0.85

[1] Refers to ages 5 to 18 years.
[2] Refers to ages 6 to 24 years.
[3] Refers to ages 7 to 24 years.
[4] Refers to ages 5 years and over.

Table 4.4. Percent of Population Enrolled in School, by Age and Sex

Region and country	Year	Female				Male			
		5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years
CARIBBEAN									
Dominican Republic...	1970	41.4	69.8	36.4	9.8	38.6	68.4	44.9	15.6
Jamaica..............	1970	88.5	97.7	[1]43.9	(NA)	87.2	96.6	[1]32.7	(NA)
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica...........	1973	[2]82.5	80.2	36.4	14.9	[2]81.5	82.0	36.9	17.9
El Salvador..........	1971	[2]45.4	70.1	26.0	4.3	[2]45.2	69.3	30.6	8.5
Guatemala............	1973	[3]42.3	44.4	14.6	4.2	[3]47.3	54.6	21.2	8.8
Honduras.............	1974	[2]51.2	60.5	19.9	6.3	[2]49.8	61.7	22.5	10.4
Mexico...............	1970	[2]59.0	67.3	28.1	3.3	[2]58.5	72.2	38.3	7.5
Nicaragua............	1971	[2]40.1	58.4	29.9	7.8	[2]38.7	55.2	32.0	12.3
Panama...............	1970	[2]71.1	80.9	33.9	7.4	[2]70.3	82.7	36.4	8.5
SOUTH AMERICA									
Argentina............	1970	72.8	80.8	35.0	10.9	71.7	83.4	36.1	13.5
Bolivia..............	1976	54.4	73.7	33.7	11.4	58.7	86.2	46.8	18.2
Brazil...............	1970	44.6	68.7	35.4	13.7	43.5	70.3	38.7	17.7
Chile................	1970	73.5	91.0	51.0	17.9	72.6	93.4	55.5	21.3
Colombia.............	1973	35.7	70.5	38.5	12.4	33.9	68.5	40.4	17.3
Ecuador..............	1974	[2]66.6	72.7	[1]35.7	12.6	[2]66.5	75.6	38.2	17.8
Guyana...............	1970	85.3	90.2	37.6	[4]1.8	84.9	91.9	40.1	2.5
Paraguay.............	1972	[3]83.3	81.3	23.5	7.0	[3]82.5	85.5	27.1	8.8
Peru.................	1972	59.4	79.8	41.3	12.1	63.0	88.7	56.4	20.9
Venezuela............	1977	(NA)	(NA)	[5]34.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	[5]30.0	(NA)

[1] Refers to ages 15 to 18 years.
[2] Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[3] Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.
[4] Refers to ages 19 years and over.
[5] Refers to ages 13 to 18 years.

Table 4.5. Percent of Population Enrolled in School, by Age and Sex, for Rural Areas

Region and country	Year	Female 5 to 9 years	Female 10 to 14 years	Female 15 to 19 years	Female 20 to 24 years	Male 5 to 9 years	Male 10 to 14 years	Male 15 to 19 years	Male 20 to 24 years
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica............	1973	[1]79.7	74.0	20.9	7.2	[1]78.6	76.4	21.7	8.5
El Salvador...........	1971	[1]33.8	59.4	13.3	1.1	[1]34.6	57.8	16.0	2.0
Guatemala.............	1973	[2]29.9	30.0	3.3	0.5	[2]36.0	41.9	7.3	1.4
Honduras.............	1974	[1]44.1	50.9	7.0	1.0	[1]42.8	53.1	10.4	2.5
Nicaragua............	1971	[1]20.1	33.7	11.8	2.4	[1][illegible]	31.1	12.0	3.3
Panama...............	1970	[1]63.8	72.8	14.7	1.9	[illegible]	75.1	19.1	2.3
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia..............	1976	44.9	62.2	14.0	2.3	51.4	80.6	29.9	5.6
Brazil...............	1970	30.7	50.5	17.0	4.2	29.9	52.2	18.5	4.9
Colombia.............	1973	23.1	53.1	17.1	3.8	21.4	49.8	17.1	4.2
Ecuador..............	1974	[1]56.9	61.8	16.6	3.7	[1]57.2	66.6	20.5	5.7
Paraguay.............	1972	[2]79.3	76.3	10.8	1.6	[2]78.6	81.9	15.8	1.8
Peru.................	1972	39.4	63.8	16.9	1.8	46.4	81.0	36.1	5.3

[1] Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[2] Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.

Table 4.6. Percent of Population Enrolled in School, by Age and Sex, for Urban Areas

Region and country	Year	Female 5 to 9 years	Female 10 to 14 years	Female 15 to 19 years	Female 20 to 24 years	Male 5 to 9 years	Male 10 to 14 years	Male 15 to 19 years	Male 20 to 24 years
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica...........	1973	[1]88.0	89.9	54.0	23.0	[1]86.9	91.7	59.3	31.1
El Salvador..........	1971	[1]66.1	86.4	40.5	8.0	[1]65.4	88.4	50.8	17.2
Guatemala............	1973	[2]66.2	68.9	30.8	9.4	[2]69.5	78.3	44.9	20.7
Honduras.............	1974	[2]69.0	81.0	40.6	14.8	[1]67.9	82.0	47.1	25.0
Nicaragua............	1971	[1]63.4	83.0	44.9	12.5	[1]62.3	83.5	54.6	22.9
Panama...............	1970	[1]81.3	90.0	47.9	11.7	[1]80.7	92.7	55.2	14.6
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia..............	1976	69.2	88.8	53.1	20.6	70.3	94.1	64.5	31.3
Brazil...............	1970	57.5	83.7	48.6	20.0	56.3	86.4	56.0	27.5
Colombia.............	1973	45.2	80.7	47.4	16.1	43.8	81.4	55.0	25.2
Ecuador..............	1974	[1]81.9	86.9	54.6	21.9	[1]81.7	89.1	60.7	32.9
Paraguay.............	1972	[2]91.3	89.4	39.6	13.8	[2]90.8	92.1	42.7	20.1
Peru.................	1972	75.0	90.3	53.5	17.3	76.1	94.3	67.4	28.5

[1] Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[2] Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.

Table 4.7. Percent Female Among Enrolled University Students for Selected Years

Region and country	1960	1965	1970	Mid-1970's[1]
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba	20	(NA)	(NA)	36
Dominican Republic	28	31	40	(NA)
Haiti	12	13	(NA)	30
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica	45	41	41	(NA)
El Salvador	21	21	25	(NA)
Guatemala	9	15	19	25
Honduras	21	20	(NA)	28
Mexico	15	18	19	26
Nicaragua	20	44	32	(NA)
Panama	43	47	46	51
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	33	39	43	(NA)
Bolivia	17	25	42	(NA)
Brazil	25	30	38	(NA)
Chile	35	39	38	(NA)
Colombia	18	23	27	39
Ecuador	18	23	33	(NA)
Paraguay	32	41	39	(NA)
Peru	27	(NA)	35	(NA)
Venezuela	31	33	41	(NA)

[1] Data refer to 1975 for Cuba; to 1976 for Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, and Panama; and to 1977 for Colombia and Guatemala.

Source: Data for Cuba and Peru from Chang and Ducci, 1977, p. 49; all other data from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks as compiled in Inter-American Development Bank, 1981, table V, p. 135.

Table 4.8. Percent Female in Various University Faculties

Region and country	Year	Total	Agriculture	Architecture	Economics, commerce	Education	Engineering	Fine arts	Humanities	Law	Medicine, dentistry	Natural sciences	Pharmacology, medical tech.	Social sciences
CARIBBEAN														
Cuba....................	1975	35.9	20.1	(NA)	(NA)	51.2	19.5	(NA)	38.0	(NA)	[1]45.0	49.2	(1)	36.0
CENTRAL AMERICA														
Costa Rica..............	1970	37.5	3.6	(2)	13.1	64.9	[2]2.7	55.6	40.9	15.9	18.9	(NA)	89.6	74.7
El Salvador[3]............	1975	33.2	6.8	(2)	22.4	[4]52.4	[2]15.3	(NA)	(4)	29.7	51.4	(NA)	[illegible]4.2	(4)
Mexico..................	1969	22.7	2.9	(5)	(NA)	59.8	3.2	[5]9.9	49.8	13.5	[1]24.0	40.6	(1)	17.5
SOUTH AMERICA														
Argentina...............	1972	38.4	16.3	38.0	25.5	81.8	6.9	68.6	(4)	40.9	38.7	52.3	63.3	66.5
Bolivia.................	1968	28.3	10.1	(5)	(NA)	68.0	1.6	[5]25.5	56.0	21.5	27.8	4.5	(NA)	21.5
Brazil..................	1973	42.5	9.1	43.8	17.6	[4]81.4	3.0	80.1	(4)	28.3	[1]31.6	55.7	(1)	96.5
Chile...................	1964	46.1	(NA)	23.9	(NA)	[4]60.9	0.0	71.7	(4)	23.5	42.5	(NA)	89.6	47.5
Colombia................	1973	19.0	3.0	16.0	12.0	45.0	6.0	(NA)	41.2	21.0	23.6	20.0	41.0	73.3
Ecuador.................	1972	31.8	7.0	14.7	31.8	57.2	2.0	25.0	41.6	14.4	19.3	8.6	87.3	56.0
Peru....................	1968	34.3	3.8	16.3	17.8	49.7	4.5	43.4	34.3	13.8	15.5	26.8	73.7	65.5
Venezuela...............	1971	46.8	16.5	44.7	(NA)	[4]68.3	9.8	(NA)	(4)	48.9	55.3	36.1	86.3	52.1

[1] Medicine includes pharmacology, medical technology, and other specialties.
[2] Engineering includes architecture.
[3] Data are for the University of El Salvador only.
[4] Education includes the humanities (and, in El Salvador, also the social sciences).
[5] Fine arts includes architecture.

Sources: Data are from Chang and Ducci, 1977, table 16, except as follows: for El Salvador, Harrison, 1977, table V-28; for Bolivia, CEPAL, 1982b, table 24; for Colombia, León de Leal and Bonilla de Ramos, 1976, Annex 6; for Chile, Chaney, 1971, table 4.9.

Chapter 5

Women in Economic Activity

High male economic activity rates worldwide reflect men's formal participation in the labor force; that is, most men are either working in, or seeking a job that falls under an appropriate category in a census or labor force survey. Women's much lower economic activity rates, on the contrary, do not adequately represent the extent and variety of their productive work. Women engage in economic activity not only in the formal labor sector, but in domestic production on the farm, in the household, and in the informal labor market. Consequently, many of women's activities and services are not included in any industry or occupational codification, and often they are not paid for in cash. Women's labors may be intermittent or irregular, and thus not covered by standard reference periods that require a person to have worked a stated minimum time period during the preceding week or month in order to be considered in the labor force. These and other characteristics of women's activity mean that many women whose days, in fact, are filled with productive toil are classified as "inactive" in census and labor force statistics.

Today, there is growing recognition that women's work in both its formal and informal settings makes a crucial contribution not only to the household economy but also to the overall development enterprise. The notion that women should be integrated into the national economies of developing countries perhaps obscures the fact that large numbers of the world's women already are fully engaged in productive work, aside from or in addition to the housewife role—which may, in itself, be far more economically central than has been acknowledged.[1] The issue is not only women's economic contribution, but the underestimation of it.[2] In a world that puts value almost exclusively on productive activities that enter the cash economy, women's low status may be partially explained by the fact that their work often defies enumeration and classification by conventional measures. Improvement in women's status demands not only that their productive work be acknowledged, but also that they be paid wages equal to men's and that they control their incomes, factors that censuses and labor force surveys most often do not assess.

A growing number of experts have called for a reappraisal of the concepts, approaches, and practices associated with gathering employment statistics in censuses in order to better account for women's economic activity.[3] The reevaluation of women's work outside the formal economy coincides with a more general recognition of the urban informal sector as a much more stable and productive component of national economies than has been acknowledged, accounting for a large proportion of the employed, whether migrant or native to the city (Portes and Walton, 1981, p. 83). The extensive literature has not, however, generally acknowledged women's disadvantaged position within the informal sector.

The principal problem in current censuses, so far as giving an accurate notion of women's economic activity, appears to center around the strict adherence to the labor force approach. Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1979), Standing (1978, ch. 2), and Youssef (1980), among others, have analyzed extensively the deficiencies of this concept. Adopted in the United States in the 1930's when extensive data on unemployment were needed, the labor force approach shifts emphasis from gainful occupation (in which a person may or may not be working) to current activity: whether the individual is employed, unemployed, or seeking work. The United Nations and the International Labour Office formally recommended the use of the labor force approach in the 1970 census round, and it has been adopted by most countries. Elizaga and Mellon (1971, pp. 19-22) trace these definitional changes in detail.

Nor is the labor force approach always applied correctly; part of the underestimation of women's economic activities may be due to sexual bias in the administration of the censuses. If a woman is not currently engaged in paid employment, she will most often be recorded simply as housewife, and will not be

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given an opportunity to mention what may be multiple economic activities (see Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman, 1979, chapter III, for an extensive discussion).

The WID Data Base includes labor force statistics principally from national censuses as the most regular and comprehensive source of information on women's economic activity. Labor force questions also are asked in labor, household, and agricultural surveys, taken in the intercensal periods. In Latin America and the Caribbean, however, these present problems as reliable data sources: some countries lack such surveys entirely; in other cases, national population census data are the most recent available. Agricultural censuses, for example, cluster in the early 1970's (Comisión Económica para América Latina, 1982a, table III.1, p. 147. This chapter, while based on available census data and thus highlighting women's formal labor force participation, also emphasizes other types of economic activity.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, there are two parallel processes: an accelerating movement of women into paid employment in the formal sector, and continuing high rates of female participation outside formal structures, particularly in urban areas. Poor women always have worked, and censuses from earlier times record high rates of female participation in agriculture. Now many middle- and upper-class women are entering the labor market, and their participation has been legitimated in most countries (although in many places women, ideally, are expected to cease work when they marry). One major development agency recently characterized Latin American and Caribbean women's increasing labor force activity as the most visible evidence of "genuine structural modification in the way that women participate in economic activities and in society in general" (Inter-American Development Bank, 1982, p. 128).

The data being analyzed in this handbook do not provide a time series for labor force participation in Latin America and the Caribbean. Other sources, however, reveal that the numbers of women in formal economic activity increased significantly in the 1960-70 decade, both in relation to the total female population of working age and as a proportion of all workers. There is evidence that their rapid incorporation into the labor force continued in the succeeding decade.

Participation rates for the region showed enormous variation around 1970, ranging from highs of 60 to 70 percent of all women in Haiti and Jamaica, to lows of 12 to 13 percent in Guatemala and Honduras. With the exception of the English speaking Caribbean, rates are lower than for other developing regions of the world, especially Africa (International Labour Office, 1975; Population Reference Bureau, 1980). Projections indicate that this will not continue to be the case. Overall, to the end of the century, increases in the female labor force in Latin America and the Caribbean will average about 3.5 percent per year. This means that the female work force will grow from about 23 million in 1980 to 55 million by the year 2000 (Inter-American Development Bank, 1982, p. 128). Because estimates of male increases are much lower, this means that women will form a much larger proportion of the total labor force by the year 2000 (ibid., table V-2, p. 130).[4]

As pointed out in chapter 1, Latin America's rapid urbanization—with many persons moving from the countryside to the towns and cities at an age when most of their work life still is ahead of them—profoundly affects the magnitude and manner of women's incorporation into both the formal and informal labor markets. In most Latin American and Caribbean countries, more women than men are migrating to the cities, the highest proportions not for family reasons but "as a means of getting into labor force activities, or finding better, higher-paying work, or of gaining access to training for employment" (Standing, 1978, p. 210). Most rural women do not find opportunity in the modernized industrial sector, however, but move directly into the urban service sector. A mounting number of studies document that the range of occupations open to women in formal urban employment, particularly to women migrants, is much narrower than that available to men (whether migrant or native), and that women are overrepresented in the lowest-paid, lowest-prestige jobs.[5] As an ILO (1978, p. 74) study notes:

> In practically all of the countries, more than one-half of the feminine urban workforce works in the service sector. Within it, between 50 and 70 percent of women work in domestic service, which constitutes between 30 and 45 percent of the total urban female economically-active population. This female role constitutes a transition between the socialization of the woman in rural life and her new adaptation to the urban.

The urban household deploys some of its members, if possible, to waged labor, others to informal sector activities such as selling prepared food on the street, or making and selling traditional artisan objects. Such informal activities shade over into what Jamaicans call "scuffling": wheeling and dealing, trading and bartering, performing odd jobs such as carrying parcels or watching and cleaning parked cars, scavenging, and begging. Still other family members are assigned to productive work at home: sewing and repairing, preparing food and/or objects for sale, or doing work at piece rates. Elder daughters and older women may devote full time to cooking, washing, cleaning, and child care so that other family members can spend more of their time in cash-earning activities, stay in school, or enter an apprenticeship program. Even though they are not remunerated in cash, such activities still represent income conservation, hidden transfers that increase the family's actual disposable income.[6]

In the rural areas of Latin America and the Caribbean, we know from an increasing number of studies that women and girls also engage in a broad range of productive activities. In the Andean regions, for example, women regularly plant garden crops; weed and cultivate their own gardens and their partners' field crops; process, store, and often market much of the produce; card and spin wool; care for the small animals; and cook for male hands who may help out at peak work periods—all in addition to their traditional tasks of child care, housework, and the fetching of

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water and firewood. Because the results of these labors often do not enter into the cash economy, however, census and labor force surveys may count many of these women as inactive. Lower female participation rates in rural areas also reflect the decline of the rural artisan and cottage industry. The United Nations (1978) estimates that women's actual rates of participation range from 50 to 60 percent in the rural areas of the Andean countries, Mexico, and Northeastern Brazil, far higher than the census statistics indicate. A good review of the problem of undercount is Deere and León de Leal (1982, pp. 6-17).[7]

Sometimes people work in both the formal and informal sectors; often, the boundary between formal and informal occupations is difficult to establish, since sometimes unregulated, low-income jobs may be included in the formal occupational structure, and at other times not (Arizpe, 1977b, p. 25). As female household heads increase, it is often women who guide the varied economic survival strategies. They allocate the labor time of other household members between formal and informal employment. They balance their own cash-earning activities with necessary domestic tasks that cannot be delegated to their mothers or daughters, while also supervising income-transfers that do not involve cash: seeking help from friends and neighbors to bridge gaps in emergencies; taking a sick child to the free clinic, or going to the parish to sign up for milk powder and cooking oil. The irony, as Ugalde (1981, p. 4) suggests, is that we decide

> to call fully employed an anesthesiologist who works two to three hours a day, but unemployed a woman who cards for four or five hours a day six days a week and/or attends the mini-window whenever there is a customer.

Other issues, equally difficult to capture in aggregate statistics, but emerging increasingly in anthropological and sociological studies, affect women in both the formal and informal labor markets. There is mounting evidence that women, whether in formal or informal employment, have much less job mobility than men. When women change employment, they often move laterally, from domestic service to street vending, for example. There is concern that while overall participation rates continue to increase for women, older and less educated women may find themselves forced out of jobs by younger and better educated women (International Labour Office, 1978, p. 38; Papanek, 1982; Schmink, 1982; and Suárez, 1975).

Other disquieting studies point to the fact that, at whatever level they are employed, women most often are paid salaries substantially below those of their male counterparts of equal experience and education (International Labour Office, 1978, chapter III). Not only do women's lower wages pose serious equity questions, but there is growing realization that the income disparities have serious consequences for the family. A woman's earnings no longer can be considered as simply complementary to her male partner's. Because of the increasing incidence of the woman-headed household in the region, women's wages may be vital to the basic survival of themselves and their children (Buvinić, et al., 1978).

Aggregate Data Models on Female Participation

Two explanations of women's participation in the labor force, both based on aggregate data, have been widely disseminated in studies and among policymakers in Latin America; a brief examination is useful in demonstrating the limitations of using conventional measures to analyze women's participation. The first model, still encountered in the literature, held that as modernization and urbanization progressed, women's opportunities would increase, and women would enter the labor force in greater and greater numbers. With the publication of Boserup's (1970) pathbreaking book on women's role in economic development, there was an acknowledgement, now repeated many times over, that women who migrated to the towns and cities of the Third World were not readily absorbed into the new manufacturing industries and other modern sector employment. Not only were men preferred, but the sector was based on capital-intensive technology; import-substitution industrialization was not sufficiently labor-absorptive to accommodate the great numbers of men and women who needed employment.[8] Many women turned to the informal sector to find alternatives to the many economic activities through which they had earned or conserved income in the rural areas.

Noting that most women did not find the expected employment opportunities, the second model suggested that women's incorporation into the labor force followed a U-shaped curve. Women's high participation rates in the rural subsistence sector (although not always reflected in the statistics) would fall dramatically as women left for the cities and withdrew to the household during their first years in the urban economy. Then, approximately 20 years after the large influx to the cities, coinciding with increased opportunity in modern industry for both men and women, female participation rates would begin to rise, at some point achieving, then surpassing, the 1950 levels.[9]

Neither model of female incorporation into the labor force appears to have been adequate to explain what has, in fact, taken place—although each model contains a partial truth. For the relatively few women with education and training, urbanization and modernization indeed have opened up many possibilities, and women have responded. Statistics on women's participation as professonals and technicians in Latin America and the Caribbean are high, generally outstripping the incorporation of men in some fields, sometimes by impressive margins. The high professional employment levels, however, mask the fact that women's occupational opportunities, clustering in health, education, and welfare, are much more restricted than men's options.

A little-noted phenomenon in Latin America and the Caribbean and other developing regions is the large number of professional women found in government bureaucracies. In many countries, women occupy high positions as directors of divisions and offices and frequently outnumber men at the lower bureaucratic

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levels. The explanation often given by the women themselves is that their male peers prefer the greater financial rewards of the private sector, and women therefore have less competition in rising to high positions in government service. Women's participation at the middle management level is not, however, equal to men's outside of the government, and everywhere, in both public and private enterprises, the command echelons are generally reserved for men.[10]

At the aggregate level, the U-shaped curve suggested in the second model indeed appears to describe the fluctuation of economic activity rates for women in Latin America and the Caribbean since 1950. The phenomenon of women's decreasing participation can be observed in the crude activity rates registered in 1950, compared to the 1960 and 1970 census rounds. In every case, there is at least a small decline in women's activity rates during this period. For most of the countries, the decrease took place in the decade of the 1950's and is registered in the 1960 censuses; since then, activity rates have begun to climb once more.

Yet we know from other sources that (1) women did not in fact retire to the household after their arrival in the towns and cities but discovered a myriad of employment possibilities in street vending, sewing, embroidery and handicraft, laundering and other personal services, and piecework for manufacturing firms; and (2) very often their employment was not reported and therefore not reflected in official counts. Thus, women's labor force participation rates indeed decreased at one point because women's informal activity was not noted; subsequently, rates have increased, but the gains are not located, as predicted, in the incipient manufacturing sector, but in petty commerce, the service sector, and white collar employment as office workers.

Not all women, however, have been included even in these limited occupational opportunities—office work and clerking in stores, for example, require education and what is termed in the employment ads "buena presencia," that is, good appearance. As Testa-Zappert (1975) demonstrated in her study of the Lima labor force, this means that women migrants are all but excluded from formal-sector employment; white collar employment even as clerks in stores goes to women who are born in Lima, have a high school education, and are nonindigenous in appearance. Male migrants, on the other hand, have much greater possibilities for urban employment because a greater range of jobs is open to them, and they are not under the same educational and racial restrictions. Women from the sierra turn to domestic service and street vending.

The problem with both models appears to be in the attempt to find a single explanation for an exceedingly complex reality. Kudat and Sabuncuoglu (1980), using aggregate data on women's employment in 108 countries, discovered at least six quite distinct patterns of female labor force activity by age. Male patterns, however, are remarkably similar across cultures for all age groups. Men's employment behavior is much less complicated than women's; most men, of whatever condition or class, expect to, and do, enter the labor force and remain in it (even though they may go from job to job and experience frequent periods of unemployment). Men's rates of labor force participation consequently are uniformly high in most developing countries, and there often is some degree of job mobility with experience and age. No matter how tenuous their incorporation into the labor force, men's working lives generally are not interrupted except for enforced periods of unemployment between jobs, or because of accidents or illness. Sometimes these periods may be of long duration—cumulatively, even longer than periods on the job—but most men still consider themselves, and their culture and society consider them, to be members of the labor force, that is, either working or looking for work.

Women, on the other hand, display a more complex pattern of labor force participation that is neither linear nor U-shaped, but goes in fits and starts in a dozen directions. The expectation that women will work in paid employment is not culturally universal, as it is for most men. Women's participation is strongly influenced by their age, family status, education and training, socioeconomic background, and place of residence. Demographic characteristics, however, do not fully explain the degree or manner of their labor force participation. Economic motives may be the strongest incentives for women to seek employment. Suárez et al. (1981), for example, demonstrate a strong inverse correlation between labor force participation rates in Lima and economic cycles as measured by the GNP. As Schmink (1982, p. 15), citing several recent studies, observes:

> Because of the importance of their supplementary income, poor women in general have a much more permanent link with the labor market than do higher-income women, despite the latter's greater advantages. It is for this reason that some studies of poor populations find their participation rates to be higher than average, showing a reversal of the trend for rates to increase with income.

The structures of their own and of the international economy thus strongly influence women's activity rates and which women have the opportunity to work. In many developing countries, women's traditional, labor-intensive artisan and cottage industry employment is displaced by machines when countries modernize, and men are hired to run the machines in the factories (Boserup, 1970; Chaney and Schmink, 1976; Tinker, 1974 and 1979; Villalobos, 1975). The relocation of garment, electronics, and pharmaceutical plants from the United States to Puerto Rico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, or the Mexican border offers employment principally to young, single women. In Mexico, for example, employment increased in one in-bond assembly plant in a border city from 2,000 in 1969 to 33,000 in 1978, and about 85 percent of those hired were women between the ages of 17 and 25 years (International Center for Research on Women, 1980a, p. 9).

This tendency to hire young and single women is noted generally in modern-sector employment, not only in factories, but as secretaries, office workers, and store clerks. Arizpe (1977b, p. 29) suggests that women's participation in formal employment declines with age, while it increases in informal activities. For more discussion on women, men, and the inter-

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national division of labor, see Benería (1982), Nash and Fernández-Kelly (1983), Fernández-Kelly (1983), Safa and Leacock (1981), and Young, et al. (1981).

Data Availability and Quality

Census data on the labor force in Latin America and the Caribbean, as the preceding discussion has emphasized, present many limitations in illuminating the complexities of women's economic activity. Censuses can take one only a certain distance in describing and analyzing women's employment situation and in constructing indicators of women's economic status. Census data must be combined with information from labor force and other national level surveys and interpreted in the light of micro-studies if one is not to draw erroneous conclusions. Census data on the labor force also suffer from antiquity in that information is often 4 to 7 years out of date before it is published.

Yet there are compelling reasons for making an attempt to tease out what census data can reveal. First and foremost, census materials are the only data available that cover the entire population of countries and are gathered with some degree of regularity. Despite differences in definitions (on who is employed, who is unemployed, who is an unpaid family worker, etc.) among countries, and even in in the same countries over time, census data on the labor force at least in a very rough way measure the same activity across countries and regions. Household and labor force surveys, on the contrary, are irregular and always employ sampling techniques which may be subject to a greater degree of error than the census.

Labor force statistics often are published with little disaggregation by sex. The latest (1982) ILO *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, for example, attempts some disaggregation, but has data on women and men by employment sector for only eight of the countries included in the WID Data Base, and occupational data disaggregated by sex for only four of the countries. The ILO depends, of course, on the reports from national statistical offices which often do not provide such disaggregations. Recently the Latin American Demographic Center has begun to make projections of the rural and urban labor force by sex and age (Fox, 1980, p. 16).

Secondly, census data include both women and men (some surveys do not), and provide information by age groups, including some working children when the lower age limit is set at 6 or 10 years, and the working elderly; such information rarely is available from other sources. Often, the census is the only source available on women's economic activity in many countries. Used with caution and an awareness of their limitations, census data enable one to make comparisons between the sexes, among age groups, between rural and urban populations, and at different points in people's life course. While such comparisons do not, by their nature, provide an in-depth analysis, the gross trends that these data indicate are essential and valuable background material to any detailed, pointed studies that may be carried out on specific populations and groups.

The WID Data Base includes information on economic activity for all the countries. Rural/urban disaggregations are missing for Argentina, Brazil, Guyana, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica; for Mexico, no disaggregations by age are available for the rural and urban populations. Otherwise, the basic data are complete. Unfortunately, no sectoral or occupational data are available in the WID Data Base. Such data have been supplied from other sources where they are available.

Singelmann and Tienda (1979) outline some of the most serious problems relating to data on women in the labor force in the six most populous countries of Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela), plus Chile. Reviewing all the post-World War II censuses, they single out three major difficulties: changes in the definition of the economically active population, variation in the industry classification scheme, and failure to differentiate employment sector by sex (ibid., pp. 748-749). In the post-war period, definitions of the economically active were reasonably consistent for Chile, Peru, and Venezuela. There was an overcount of the economically active in Mexico in 1960 and an undercount in 1970; in Argentina, too, demographers acknowledge an undercount of the unemployed in the post-war censuses, but do not indicate its extent. In Mexico, the lower age limit of the labor force was changed between two censuses, as was the designation of the reference period for determining who was economically active. These examples of Singelmann and Tienda—changes in definition and counting, and variation of the age groups included—are the kinds of problems that plague many efforts to compare census results.

Another difficulty relates to the exclusion of both women and men who have not worked in the preceding week from among the economically active; only in Haiti is the period extended to cover the prior 6 months (CEPAL, 1982a, table III.4, p. 150). The amount of time during the preceding week that persons must have worked in order to be included is either vague ("la mayor parte," the greater part), inconsistent (4 days per week in Argentina; 1 day during the week of April 13-18, 1970, for Chile; only 3 hours in the Dominican Republic), or unspecified.

The category "unpaid family worker" is inconsistent across countries. In Guyana, all who indicate home duties as their main activity (and are not employers or employees) are included as unpaid family workers; this inflates the number of economically active in comparison to other countries and puts women's participation rates above those of men. In El Salvador, on the contrary, those who engage in domestic tasks are specifically excluded from unpaid family worker status, but in the 1950 census, rural housewives were counted as economically active in both El Salvador and Ecuador (Inter-American Commission of Women, 1975, p. 5). In Brazil, family workers must labor 15 hours or more without pay during the reference period for the person with whom they reside or as religious persons in a convent or monastery. In Colombia, Panama, Mexico, and Venezuela, the requirement is that unpaid family workers be related to the person for whom they work. Many younger women in these countries work for room and board as unpaid domestic servants, and thus would not be counted. In Chile and Peru, no definitions of family worker are provided (CEPAL, 1982a, table III.7, p. 155).

Dixon (1982, pp. 281-282) calls the unpaid family worker "defiant of formal measurement." In reviewing this category of worker in 56 developing countries, Dixon concludes that the higher figures for Africa and Asia are likely to reflect more accurately their numbers in that region of the world, while the Central and South American figures significantly underrepresent those who work without pay in family enterprises.

There are some differences among countries for counting the labor force in the lower age limits: children at 5 years of age in Haiti and 6 years of age in Peru are included in the statistics; for other countries, the lower limit is usually 12 or 15 years old. The ages have been standardized, where possible, in the WID Data Base, but in some cases single-year data were not available to permit regrouping. Unfortunately, the elimination of lower age limits in the Data Base leaves substantial numbers of working children outside the analysis. Some data are available from other sources (see Mendelievich, 1979; and World Bank, 1979).

Because of the particular unreliability of statistics on women's participation in agriculture, several researchers recently have suggested that these data be excluded from analyses of women in the labor force (Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman, 1982, pp. 41-55). Their "refined rate of participation in modern occupations" is the quotient between women 15 years of age and over who work in modern occupations, and the total number of women in that age group. Their argument is that data collected in the modern sector probably are more reliable. In order to construct such a measure, occupational and employment status data are needed but these are still lacking in the WID Data Base. However, a crude attempt at a refined measure has been attempted by eliminating the women employed in agriculture, using occupational data from other sources. At the same time, a table on women's participation in agriculture has been retained since it is important to examine these data across countries.

Others have made attempts to estimate the total numbers of economically active women. Ugalde (1981, p. 4) points to the 35 percent of women in the labor force in the 1970 Dominican census who are classified under the category "not well-defined occupations" as indicative of the difficulty or impossibility of translating women's myriad economic activities into occupations. Boulding (1983, pp. 289-290) suggests an ingenious way for getting some kind of notion of the numbers of economically active women whom she calls the unaccounted for. She takes the crude female labor force participation rate, and adds to it the percent of economically inactive homemakers, then looks at the difference between this figure and 100 percent of the women aged 10 years and over. This residual, of course, includes the formally excluded categories of students, retired persons, institutionalized persons, and the totally dependent. It is not possible, she says, that 38 percent of women in nine Latin American countries, or 49 percent in fourteen African or Middle Eastern countries can be accounted for by the formally excluded: these women must be doing something, even if formal labor force statistics do not capture what that activity may be.

Very little data are available on either unemployment or income by sex. Both topics lend themselves more to labor force and household sample surveys of the continuous kind; by the time census data are analyzed in most countries, they are too old to be very useful or meaningful. An attempt was made to include some income data in the WID Data Base, but the search did not yield much information. Nor is there any way of ascertaining from this kind of data whether women retain control of their incomes (see Dwyer, 1983, for a report on a seminar and forthcoming publication of recent studies). A good study on unemployment in the Eastern Caribbean (Brana-Shute and Brana-Shute, 1980) has extensive data on girls and women; nothing comparable appears to be available for other regions.

It is important to counter the notion that unemployment among women is not a crucial issue. As the International Center for Research on Women (1980a, pp. 63-64) points out, it is commonly assumed that women have lower unemployment and underemployment because census data do not accurately measure the number of women who need to work and who would work if they could, but do not fit the category of active job seeker. They cite a number of studies showing female unemployment rates as sometimes two to three times higher than rates for men, particularly at the two extremes of the age hierarchy: the very young and the elderly.

Women's Participation in the Labor Force: Absolute and Relative Numbers

Almost all the data on labor force participation in the WID Data Base come from the 1970 census round and in nearly every case, definitions of the economically active conform to the ILO standard.[11] Exceptions are Haiti, based on a 1973 demographic survey of 5 percent of the urban and 1 percent of the rural populations; Jamaica, based on sample surveys carried out twice yearly by the Jamaica Department of Statistics; and Venezuela, where data are from the 1979 national household survey.

Participation rates for women in the Latin American and Caribbean work force are much higher than in the Middle East, but lower than in either Africa or Asia. Caribbean rates and those for the Southern Cone countries (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) are higher than for either Central America or Tropical South America.

There are two classic ways of reporting women's participation in the labor force: the number of women in the labor force as a percentage of all women of working age, and the female share of the total labor force. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show these numbers and percentages.

Male rates expressed as a percentage of the total male population of working age are fairly uniform in Latin America and the Caribbean, ranging from a low of 66 percent in Nicaragua and Peru to a high of 81 percent in Paraguay—a variation of only 15 percentage points. Women's rates expressed as a proportion of the total female population of working age show extreme variation, from lows of 12 to 13 percent in two Central American countries, to highs of 64 to 83 percent in Guyana, Haiti, and Jamaica. By far the majority of countries, however, have reported female labor force participation rates between 15 and 30 percent. The low percentages are due, in part, to underreporting of female economic activity (although for Guyana there appears to be overreporting); yet even if reporting were more accurate, the variability of rates probably still would be marked. Figure 5.1 shows female/male ratios of participation rates.

See footnotes at end of chapter.

As pointed out above, Guyana includes among unpaid family workers all who report home duties as their principal occupation. If the majority are housewives, it is instructive to note what happens (table 5.1) when they are counted: women's overall rates are higher than men's, and they also outnumber men in the labor force. However, rates in Guyana are not comparable to other countries; to bring them into line with other censuses, those engaged only in home duties must be subtracted. Other sources give the proportions (for those 15 years old and over) as 26 percent of all women in that age group at work, and 24 percent of the total work force as female (Inter-American Commission of Women, 1983, table 1,p.21).

Two countries with particularly high rates of female labor force participation are Haiti and Jamaica. Women also outnumber men in the population. In both cases, the lesser numbers of men in the population and the greater participation of women in the work force may reflect the exodus of men over the past several generations (going back to the days of the construction of the Panama Railroad and Canal) in international migration, and the consequent necessity for some women to assume major economic responsibility for their families when remittances are slow in coming or cease, or when the men fail to return. Figure 5.2 shows participation rates in the labor force by sex. These rates show little if any relationship with modernization indexes such as degree of urbanization or industrialization, or percent of male labor force engaged in nonagricultural activities.

Work Force Activity in Rural and Urban Areas

When differences in participation rates between rural and urban regions of Latin America and the Caribbean are analyzed, as expected women's rates are higher in the towns and cities, sometimes dramatically higher. While the low participation rates in rural areas can be accounted for in part by the undercounting of women in subsistence agriculture, still the urban rates may reflect the greater opportunities available for female employment in the urban environment. Male participation rates are lower in the urban areas than for men in the countryside, although proportionately the rural/urban differences are not nearly so great for men as they are for women. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show female and male participation in the work force by rural and urban residence.

Figure 5.3 shows the advantage of urban over rural women in economic activity, and figure 5.4 shows the ratio of women to men in the rural and urban labor force. The figures may reflect the reality that there are few off-farm job opportunities for women in the rural countryside where they would be counted as economically active (even though they continue to work on their own family farm, where they may not be counted as active). Men, on the other hand, may find it more difficult than women to locate entry-level employment in the cities and towns. This is so partly because women migrants find ready employment in domestic service as a typical first job in the city. In Latin America and the Caribbean, this activity accounts for 25 to 45 percent of the total female work force in the various countries. Thus, the higher levels of female labor force activity registered in the urban areas may not reflect progress, but women's overrepresentation in the service sector, particularly in low-paid, low-prestige domestic service jobs.

Age Structure of Female and Male Labor Force

Latin American and Caribbean countries show, for the most part, rather similar participation rates for the various age groups among both women and men in the labor force.

Table 5.5 gives the participation rates for women and men in the total country by age, and figure 5.5 plots the activity rates for three countries representing three modal participation patterns. Male rates are quite similar over the life span,[12] reaching well over 90 percent of all men employed in certain age groups, and showing little variation among countries and regions. Women's rates, on the other hand, do vary in the degree of participation, but the pattern over the life span is remarkably uniform, except for Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, and Venezuela.

The female participation pattern in most countries is unimodal, with the peak coming in the 20 to 29 year old age group, then decreasing steadily in each succeeding age group. There is as yet no second peak after 40 years of age as occurs in industrialized societies when women reenter the labor market after their children are grown. When the 1980 census round data are in, incipient peaks may be revealed in Argentina and Chile.

The peak in labor force activity, in fact, actually occurs in most countries at ages 20 to 24 years; exceptions are Haiti and Jamaica, where extremely high formal labor force participation is found in all age groups. Jamaica shows nearly uniform rates until age 54 years. In Guyana, labor force participation peaks 10 years later in the 30 to 34 year old age group, while in Venezuela, the peak comes in ages 25 to 34 years (a 5-year breakdown is not available for Venezuela). Two other countries show peaks in the 25 to 29 year age groups: Bolivia and the Dominican Republic; since the difference between these age groups and the 20 to 24 year olds is only two-tenths of a percentage point in each case, the generalization that 20 to 24 years is the age group of greatest labor force activity still holds.

A further disaggregation of labor force participation rates by age and rural/urban residence (tables 5.6 and 5.7), reveals that the general trend towards a definite peak at ages 20 to 29 years still holds for both rural and urban women (except, again, for Haiti where participation rates are much higher and flatter). This further disaggregation shows that participation rates for women in the 20 to 29 year old age group in the cities is, in most cases, quite high, in no country falling below 30 percent. At the same time, among the 20 to 29 year olds in rural areas, participation rates, while higher than for other age groups, are not nearly so high as in the cities and towns. Figure 5.6 plots participation rates for rural and urban women in this age group.

The female share of the labor force in rural and urban areas (table 5.8) reveals some subtle variations in participation by age. Participation rates show the proportions of women who are economically active among all women in that age group, and it is here that the 20 to 24 year old women, by and large, emerge as the most active. The female share, on the other hand,

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See footnotes at end of chapter.

measures the percent of all persons active in an age group who are women. The table shows that, in many cases, it is the younger women (those under age 20 years) who have the largest share of the labor force. In 11 of the 14 countries for which data are available, the female share of the labor force in the rural areas is higher among women under 20 years of age than in any other age group (in El Salvador, Haiti, and Honduras, it is the 20 to 29 year olds who have the highest share in the rural areas). In the towns and cities, only Costa Rica and Paraguay have a larger female share among those economically active in an age group above 20 years (at 20 to 29 years); in 1973, the female share in Costa Rica was highest in the age group under 20 years. Figure 5.7 plots the female share of the rural and urban labor force for persons under 20 years of age.

Life Span Concepts

Closely related to labor force activity rates by age are questions about the activities people deem appropriate at different periods over the span or course of their lives. In developing countries, the range of choice may differ from that in more-developed societies. While childhood may be foreshortened, and old age may not spell leisure for either sex, nevertheless men's participation rates in activities appropriate to early childhood, young manhod, adulthood, and old age go forward in more or less regular fashion across cultures. Women's activities over their life course are, in contrast, highly variable; their participation rates in paid labor force activity, while in some cases exhibiting regularities across cultures, may not, in fact, increase or diminish in any regular fashion. There is no way to determine from aggregate data the duration of individual women's economic activity. Many influences play a part in whether or not a woman will seek a job in the formal sector and at what periods in her life. Some of these are need, opportunity, cultural considerations, marital status, number of children, education and training, and the economy of her country (which in turn is influenced by international events over which she has no control).

Other studies show that women in Latin America, until recently, still regarded incorporation in the formal labor force as provisional. After marriage, and particularly after having children, many women believed they should withdraw from the work force. It is important to recognize, however, that continuing high dependency ratios compel many women to continue working; as Schmink (1982, p. 16) points out, high dependency burdens come in poor households an average of 10 years earlier than in more affluent groups at a time in the life span when earnings are likely to be lower. For this reason, while many women may move out of the formal labor market, they continue with part time income-earning activities; while they may fall out of the statistics, they still are engaged in productive work for pay.

Most poor women do not have the luxury of withdrawing from the labor force, and professional women who can afford servants do not have any need to do so. Thus, we may speculate that those who withdrew in the past were principally middle class women who expected to be supported while they raised their children. When detailed data from the 1980 census round become available, they may show that women are distributed over a much broader spectrum of age groups in the labor force, smoothing out the peak at ages 20 to 24 years, or alternatively, showing definite patterns of re-entry after age 40 years.

If disaggregations by income level or some other social class indicator become available, they may show that employed women in the middle (below the top professionals who keep on working after marriage because they can pay for household help, and above the poorest women who continue to work whatever their marital status) can no longer afford to leave paid labor force activity. Inflation and the rising cost of living have made it imperative for many women to continue to work who in times past withdrew from the labor force at marriage or after the birth of a first child. Increases between the 1960 and 1970 censuses among women in clerical and sales personnel, and in some professional and technical occupations, confirm this tendency.

Two other age groups of particular interest are children and older persons. One way of looking at the implications of labor force activity among the young and old is in terms of whether paid work is appropriate to their stage in life. Should the society aim for a longer period of education for the young, and a shorter period of work for adults so that they can enjoy some leisure in their old age?

In Latin America and the Caribbean, many children who work will not, of course, be captured in any statistical count. For one thing, their paid economic activity often is illegal, and therefore will not be reported. The lower age limit is set too high to capture much of the labor force activity of children (10 or 12 years in most countries); many begin work at 6 years of age or even younger. Then, too, children often are in the same position as women in relation to paid work: their labors are part time, intermittent, or confined to the informal sector.

Nevertheless, even under the conditions leading to substantial undercount, large numbers of children are at work in the cities and towns of Latin America and the Caribbean, as table 5.9 shows. They work in both rural and urban areas, but girls tend to be undercounted in rural statistics (girls who help in the fields, pasture cattle or goats, care for their younger brothers and sisters, carry water, and forage for firewood in the countryside will only exceptionally be classified as working). Rates of urban labor force activity for girls are higher in certain countries (Panama and Bolivia) than for boys 14 years of age and under, with equal percentages of children of both sexes at work in Peru.

Among persons 60 years of age and over, work participation rates remain quite high among men in urban places, as table 5.9 demonstrates, but they tend to fall off more sharply for women.

For Latin America, while there has been an increase overall in labor force participation between 1950 and 1970, there has been a steep decrease in the participation rates of women over 60 years of age (figure 5.8). Explanations offered are that this new trend indicates that the Latin American participation profile of women is becoming more like that of the industrialized countries and less like that of the developing countries (Inter-American Development Bank, 1982, p. 129), and the decrease is "typical of the behavior of countries that are in the process of development" (Inter-American Commission of Women, 1975, p. 6). Another explanation probably accords more closely with evidence from studies and other statistical sources, that is, the increasing migration of women in the older age groups to the cities and the low sex ratios in urban places among persons 65 years of age and over (table 3.12). Older women are being forced out of the labor force because of the preference by employers for "young women with more education who have displaced older women with less schooling" (International Labour Office, 1978, p. 39).

Women in Nonagricultural Occupations

Although not a part of the WID Data Base, some occupational data have been assembled to make the present analysis more complete. With all the caveats already recorded in this chapter, table 5.10 gives percentages of the labor force in agriculture by sex for the countries in the WID Data Base; these are the latest figures compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1983b).

Table 5.11 presents a more meaningful picture of women's formal labor force participation by focusing on nonagricultural occupations. This is following Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1979), International Labour Office (1978), Inter-American Commission of Women (1975), and others, to get a better notion of the distribution of women and men in nonagricultural occupations where, presumably, the workers are more accurately counted. The data confirm that women have higher participation rates than men in service occupations and lower rates in manufacturing. They also reveal that all countries have larger percentages of women in professional and technical fields, although there are more men in absolute numbers because of their greater participation in the nonagricultural labor force. The proportion of women in professional and technical occupations (figure 5.9) is twice as high as the proportion of men in many countries, and in Argentina and Brazil it is three times as high. One reason for the larger proportions of women in the professional category is their overrepresentation among primary and secondary level teachers, nurses, pharmacists, and laboratory technicians, none of which is a career of very high prestige in Latin America. In contrast, much higher proportions of men than women are found in the directors and supervisors category, where prestige and power are greater.

Income data have been compiled for only 3 of the 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries in the WID Data base. The best source of information on this topic is a study by the International Labour Office (1978), which concludes (p. 135) that when women's and men's salaries and wages are analyzed, women are greatly overrepresented among those receiving low remuneration, particularly in rural areas. While there are salary differentials in favor of men at every level, the gaps at the highest levels are the most noteworthy, with women totally absent from the top salary categories in some countries.

Women receive lower salaries than men in most cultures, regardless of type of economic activity, occupation, rural/urban residence, or educational attainment. Even though, as a whole, women in the labor force are better educated than men in Latin America and the Caribbean, this does not serve to eliminate wage differences. The gaps in men's and women's wages are greatest in service occupations, particularly in domestic service, and smallest in commerce and manufacturing. Women who are 25 to 29 years of age receive salaries more nearly equal to men's than either younger or older women (ibid.).

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[1] Not only is women's work in commodity production and services underestimated, but the whole sphere of reproduction—the bearing and rearing of the new generation, as well as housework—is ignored in census and labor force surveys. Many women work two shifts: they toil all day on the land, sell merchandise in the market or on the street, or work on a factory assembly line. After their first day's work is done, they face additional hours in household chores and child care which census and labor force concepts do not define as work. Some women say that they work harder during their second shift than during their paid work. The question of women's reproductive labors, along with related considerations of the sexual division of labor and women's subordination, are as important as labor force activity in determining women's status. Women's reproductive activities are not, however, within the scope of this handbook. Several key articles and bibliographies on this important topic are included in Benería (1982), Nash and Fernández-Kelly (1983), Safa and Leacock (1981), and Young, et al. (1981). Ultimately, surveys of women's economic activity will need to be designed that encompass the totality of women's labors, including domestic production, child care, and housework.

[2] Most of the analyses and field studies on women's contributions in the household and the wider economy treat the rural areas; we do not yet have an extensive literature on women's contributions to urban development—perhaps because women's work has been concentrated in the service sector and the informal labor market, and thus has not been considered productive. As we become more aware that informal economic activity also responds to genuine demand and produces valuable goods and services, a literature may grow. For example, a reappraisal of the work of women street vendors of food is currently being carried out by the Equity Policy Center of Washington, D.C.; and the Population Council is conducting a project on "Women, Low-Income Households, and Urban Services," with a Latin American/Caribbean segment directed by Marianne Schmink. Some documentation on what women do in urban areas is contained in the household/survival strategies literature reviewed in chapter 6. Good overviews are Newland (1979 and 1980).

The USAID Office of Women in Development recently (1981a) published a collection of eight articles on women in agriculture in developing countries. A good overall survey of the key issues is Loutfi (1980). A UNDP (1980) study on rural women's participation in four developing countries includes a detailed analysis of the situation in Haiti. Articles by Blumberg (1981), Chaney, Simmons, and Staudt (1979), Chaney and Lewis (1980), and Tinker (1979, p. 11-24) pull together information on women's agricultural activity in many world areas. There are annotated references in early bibliographies edited by Buvinić (1976) and Rihani (1978). Rogers (1980) and Zeidenstein (1979) are other good sources for references. An excellent collection of some classic sources on women in agriculture (in Spanish, although not all the selections deal with Latin America) was edited in 1982 by León with the assistance of Deere and Rey de Marulanda. Nash (forthcoming) is a recent review of the issues and Wilson (1982) a review of the literature. Dixon's 1978 study was a pioneer, and still unique, study of rural women and work, which also touched on women in rural industries. Her 1983 review of women in the agricultural labor force recalculates the female share for most Latin American countries.

[3] The current activities of the U.S. Census Bureau's Center for International Research in creating the WID Data Base and the publication of these handbooks respond to the USAID Office of Women in Development's early preoccupation with this issue, dating from 1977. Another early effort to discover the problems involved in measuring women's economic activity was included in the United Nations Statistical Office's 1977 survey of the situation on women in national data systems, published in 1980. An excellent overview of the problem is Youssef's 1980 study, as well as one the International Center for Research on Women published in the same year (1980c). Boulding (1983) adds some insights not considered by other observers.

For Latin America, the most comprehensive appraisals of census and household survey deficiencies in adequately reporting women's work are Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1979 and 1982). The question has been treated in two seminars organized by the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janiero (see the general report published in 1980, particularly the conclusions and recommendations of Torrado). Recent papers from an expert seminar convened by the U.N. Statistical Office, all issued in 1983, include those by Powers, Safilios-Rothschild and Youssef. León de Leal and Deere (1982, pp. 6-18) deal extensively with measurement issues and census deficiencies in the Andean countries.

[4] It is important to note that these rates do not imply that the absolute numbers of women entering the labor force will be greater than the

numbers of men; the projections are calculated, of course, on much smaller bases of already active women. So far as overall projections are concerned, according to the Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía, the rural labor force will grow about 15 percent between now and the year 2025, resulting in an increase of 41 million economically active in rural areas in 1975 to about 50 million by the year 2000, and 55 million in 2025 (cited in Fox, 1982a, p. 9).

In light of Latin America's rapid urbanization, it is not surprising that numbers of the economically active population in urban places are expected to grow much more rapidly than in rural areas, if present trends continue. The urban labor force in the region as a whole, numbering about 51 million in 1975, will increase to 142 million by the year 2000, and to 259 million by 2025. As Fox (ibid., p. 10) notes, the figures for the year 2000, barring catastrophe, are firm, since the population which will seek entrance to the labor force already is born. This means that some 3.6 million persons will enter the labor market each year until the end of the century, then increase to 4.7 million per year between 2000 and 2025.

[5] There are good reviews of the literature on women in migration in Chaney (1980); *Migration Today* (1982); Orlansky and Dubrovsky (1978); and Youssef, Buvinić, and Kudat (1979). Suárez (1975) considers the issue specifically for Peru. Studies documenting the disadvantaged position of women in both urban and rural areas are covered extensively in the articles and bibliography of the volume on women and poverty edited by Buvinić, Lycette, and McGreevey (1983). Jelin (1982) reviews the general theoretical literature on women in the urban labor markets.

[6] So far as Latin America is concerned, Buvinić (1981, p. 11) points out that recent household surveys carried out in several South American cities report labor force participation rates for women anywhere from 14 to 30 percent higher than the respective national censuses. The Institute of Development Studies recently published an issue of its bulletin on women in the informal sector, edited by Young and Moser (1981). Several articles with a comprehensive review of the issues are Arizpe (1977b), Jelin (1977 and 1982), Safa (1977), and Schmink (1982). Pioneering studies on urban women were carried out by Arizpe (1977a) on indigenous migrants to Mexico City; Bolles (1981) on working-class women in Kingston, Jamaica; Bunster and Chaney (forthcoming) on market sellers, street vendors and domestic servants in Lima; García, et al. (1982) on households in Mexico City; Lomnitz (1977) on survival strategies of poor households in Mexico City; Moser (1981) on women in Guyaquil; Piho (1975) on textile workers in Mexico City; Safa (1983) on factory workers in New Jersey and Brazil; Schmink (1977 and 1979) on urban women in Venezuela and Brazil; Scott Kinzer (1975) on Buenos Aires professional women, and Smith (1975) on domestic servants in Lima.

[7] Bourque and Warren (1981) also have done extensive work on women's productive work in the Peruvian Andes. Other pioneering field studies are Garrett (1978) on Chile and Rubbo (1975) on Colombia. Knudsen and Yates (1981) report on their study of women in agriculture in St Lucia. Blumberg's 1981 article in the WID/USAID collection has a section on women in agriculture in Latin America.

[8] Boserup (1970) was one of the first to draw widespread attention to the detrimental effects of modernization on women, particularly in rural areas. Tinker (1974 and 1976) widened the discussion of how Western concepts of development have undermined the position of women in many traditional societies, as did two early articles by Nash (1975 and 1976). Many other researchers and women in development experts have joined in the critique; the most recent extensive treatment is Rogers (1980). An early, still valuable, classic is Youssef (1974).

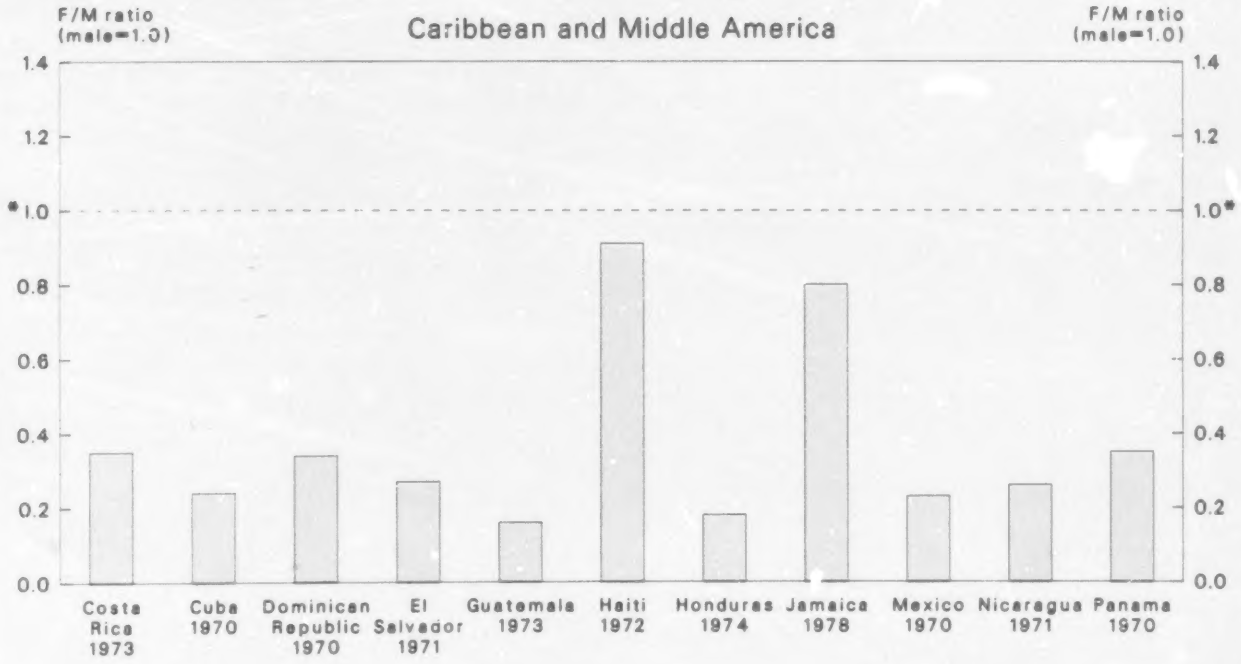
[9] The two theories are critiqued in Standing (1978, pp. 10-15) and Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1979, pp. 4-11). The Inter-American Commission of Women (1975) extensively analyzes women's participation in the labor force, using the U-shaped curve hypothesis. See also Elizaga and Mellon (1971, p. 33).

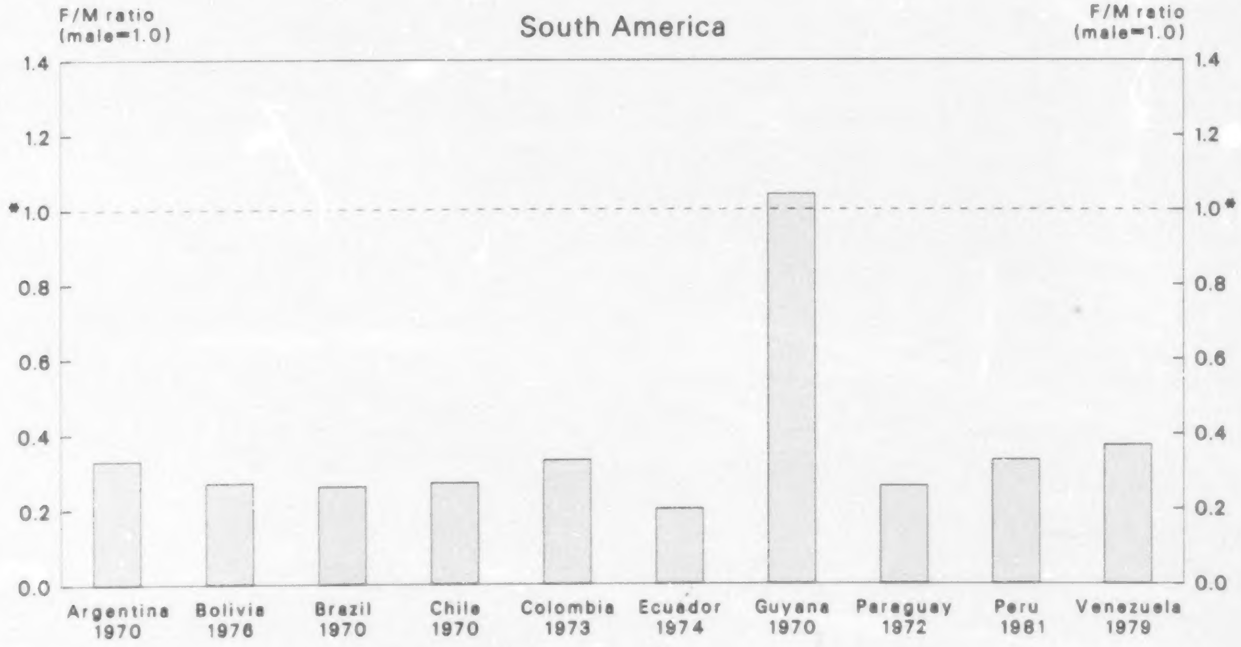
[10] It should be acknowledged that this situation is not peculiar to developing countries. Educated women, in fact, often may have more opportunity in developing economies and polities to embark on and progress in a profession or career than in highly industrialized societies where the overall number of trained persons creates keen competition. Their absolute numbers, however, are small (for an extensive discussion, see Chaney, 1979).

[11] The ILO standard refers to persons in the labor force on the date of the census or survey, or during a brief specific period such as the week immediately prior to the census or survey date. Groups generally considered not to be economically active are students, women occupied solely in domestic duties, retired persons, persons living entirely on their own means, and persons wholly dependent upon others.

[12] In some social science usages, life course is called life cycle, but the preferred term now is span or course, a more accurate term since a person's life does not unfold in circular fashion.

Figure 5.1. Ratio of Female to Male Labor Force Participation Rates for the Population 10 Years of Age and Over

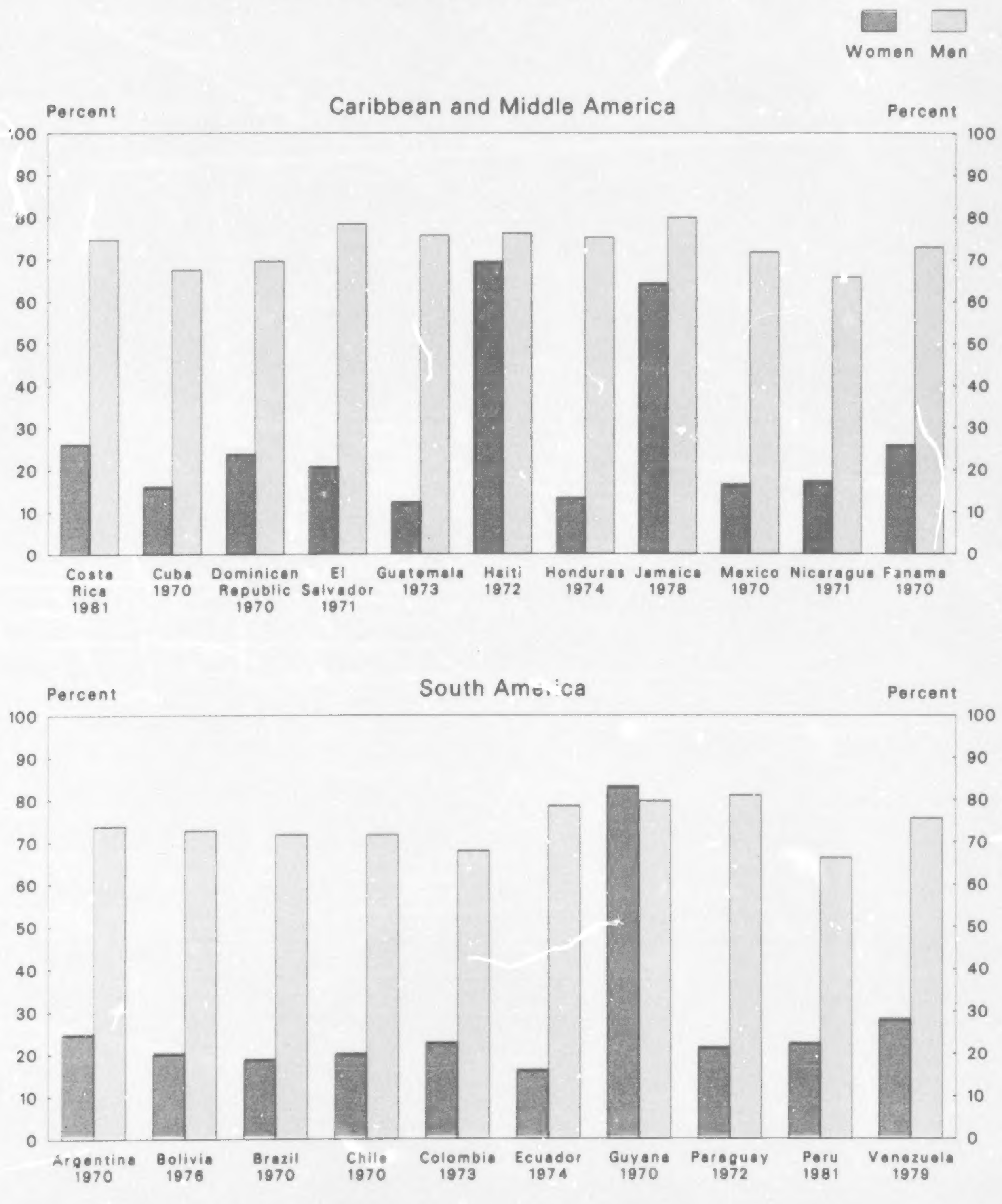

Caribbean and Middle America


South America

* Female rate equals male rate.

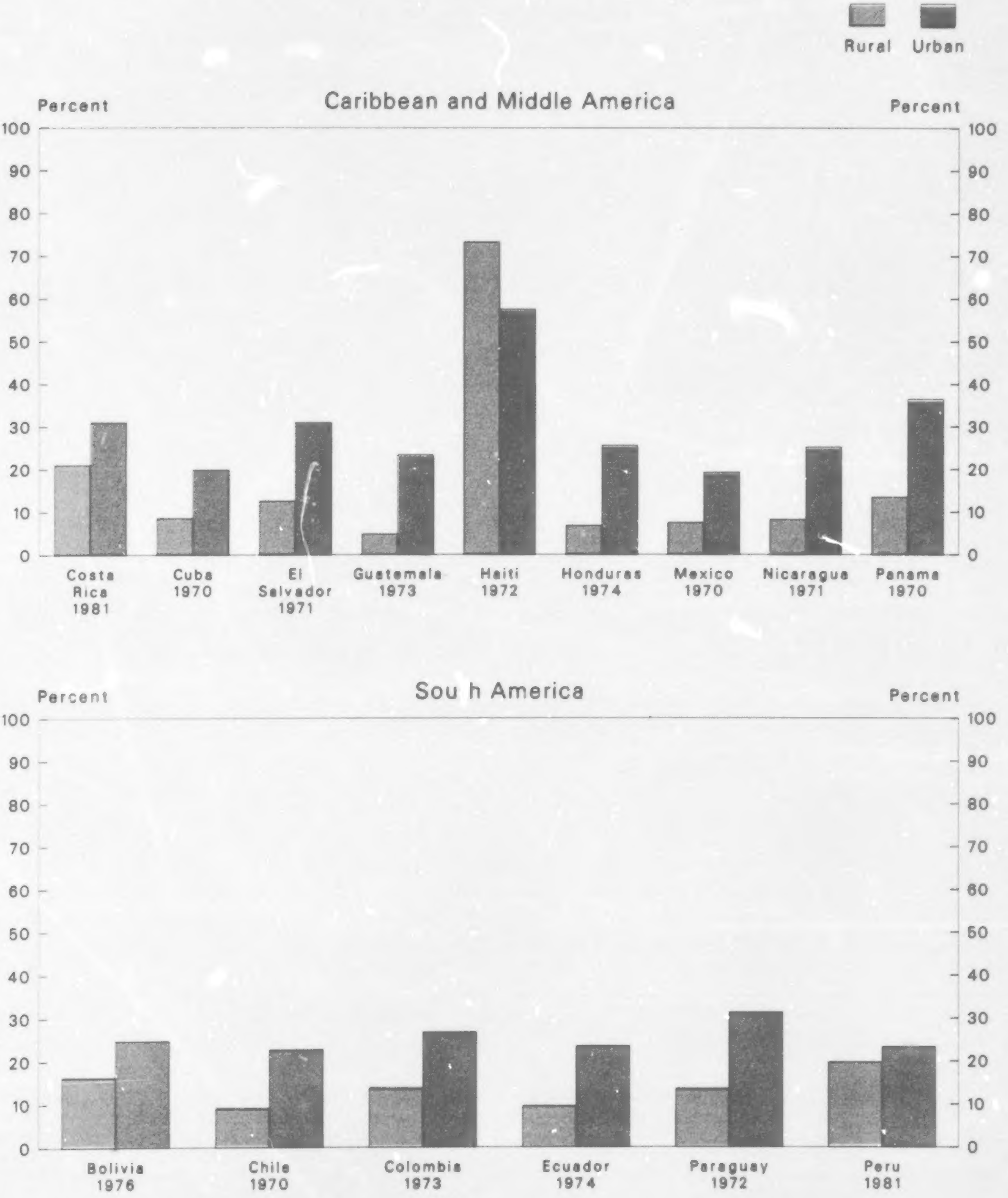
Note: See footnotes to table 5.1 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 5.2. Labor Force Participation Rates for the Population 10 Years of Age and Over, by Sex



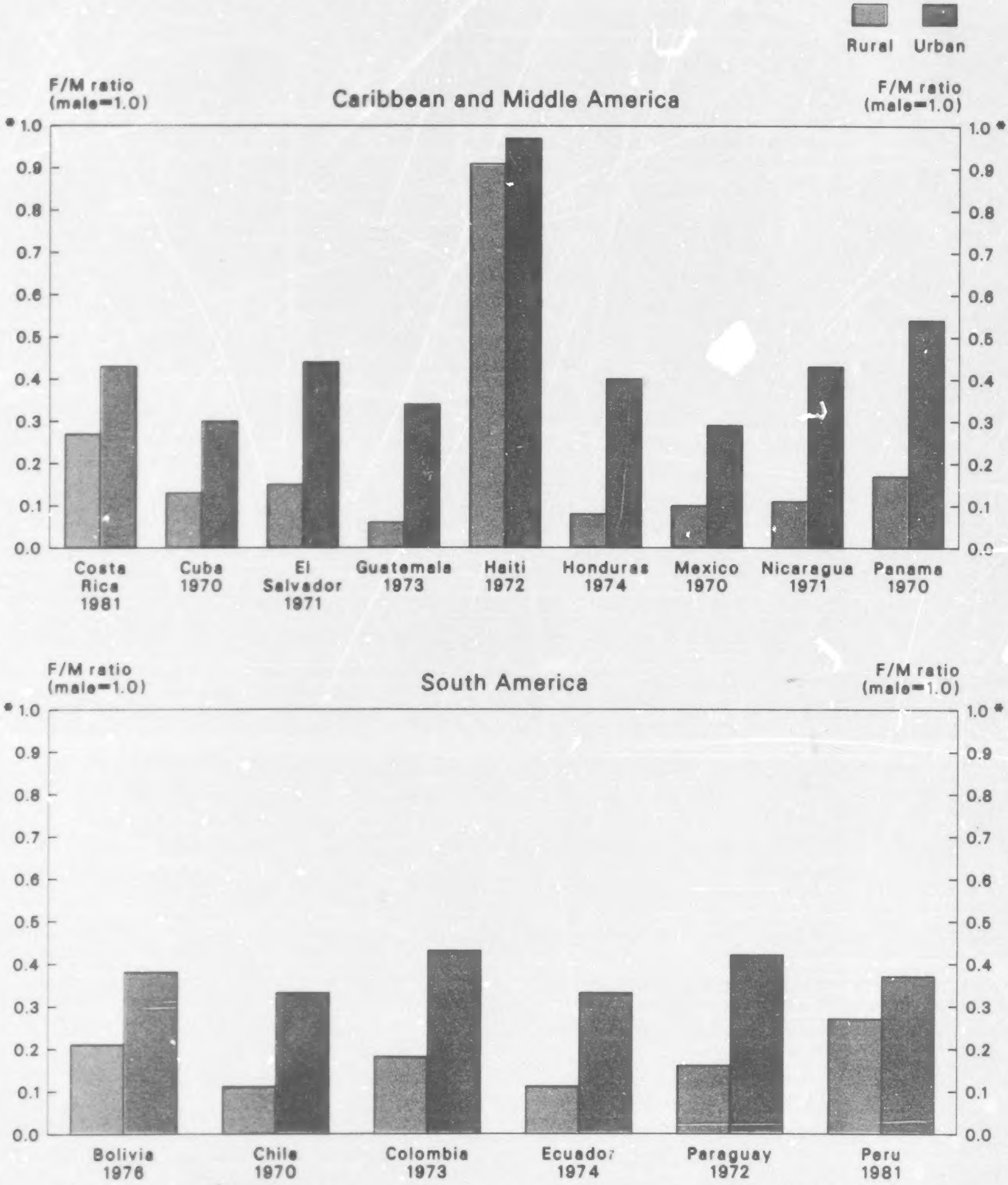
Note: See footnotes to table 5.2 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 5.3. Labor Force Participation Rates for Women 10 Years of Age and Over, by Rural/Urban Residence



Note: See footnotes to table 5.3 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 5.4. Female/Male Ratios of Labor Force Participation Rates, by Rural/Urban Residence



*Female rate equals male rate.

Figure 5.5. Percent Economically Active, by Sex and Age, for Argentina, Brazil, and Guatemala

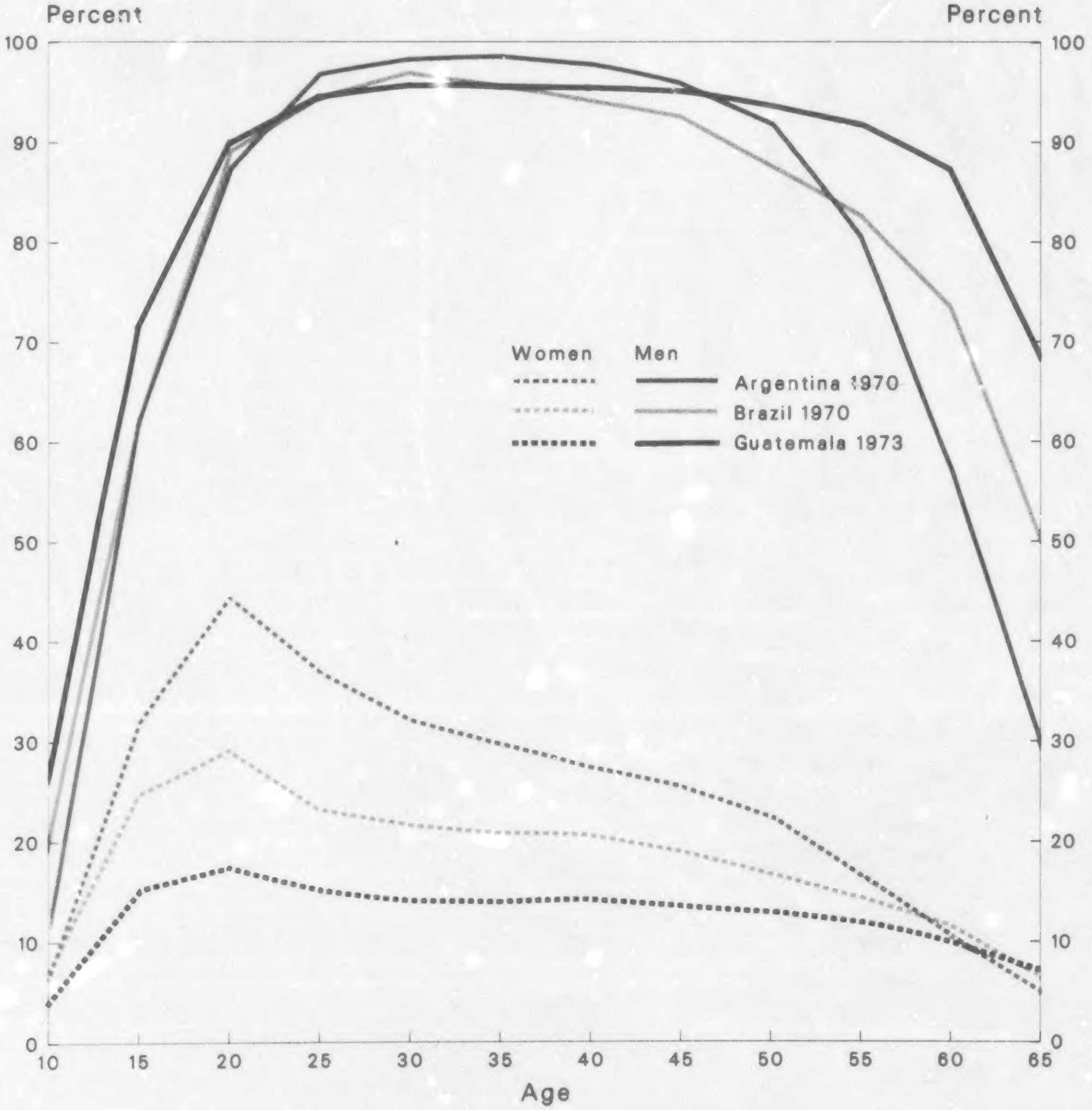


Figure 5.6. Labor Force Participation Rates of Women 20 to 29 Years of Age in Rural and Urban Areas

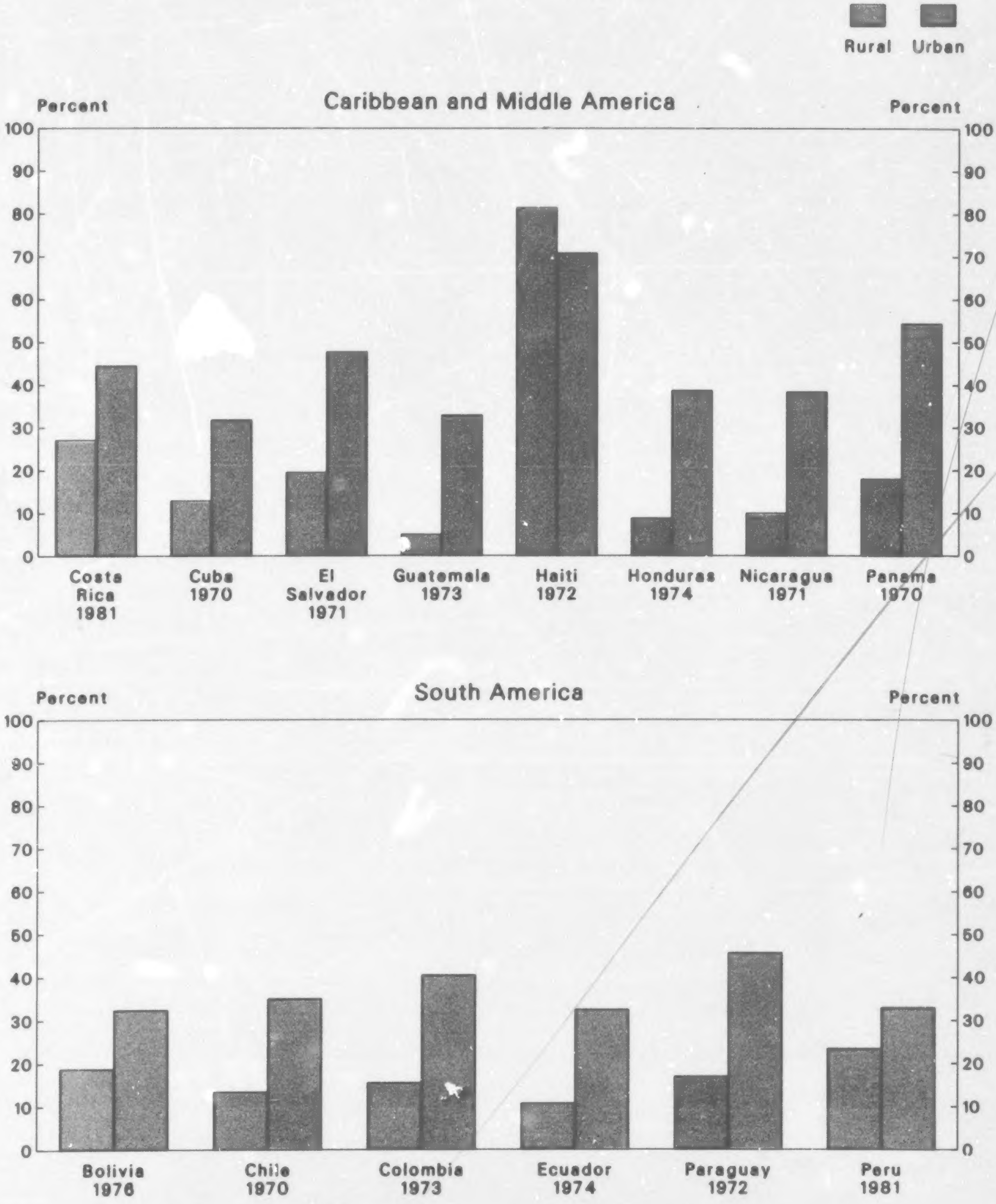


Figure 5.7. Female Share of the Rural and Urban Labor Force Under 20 Years of Age

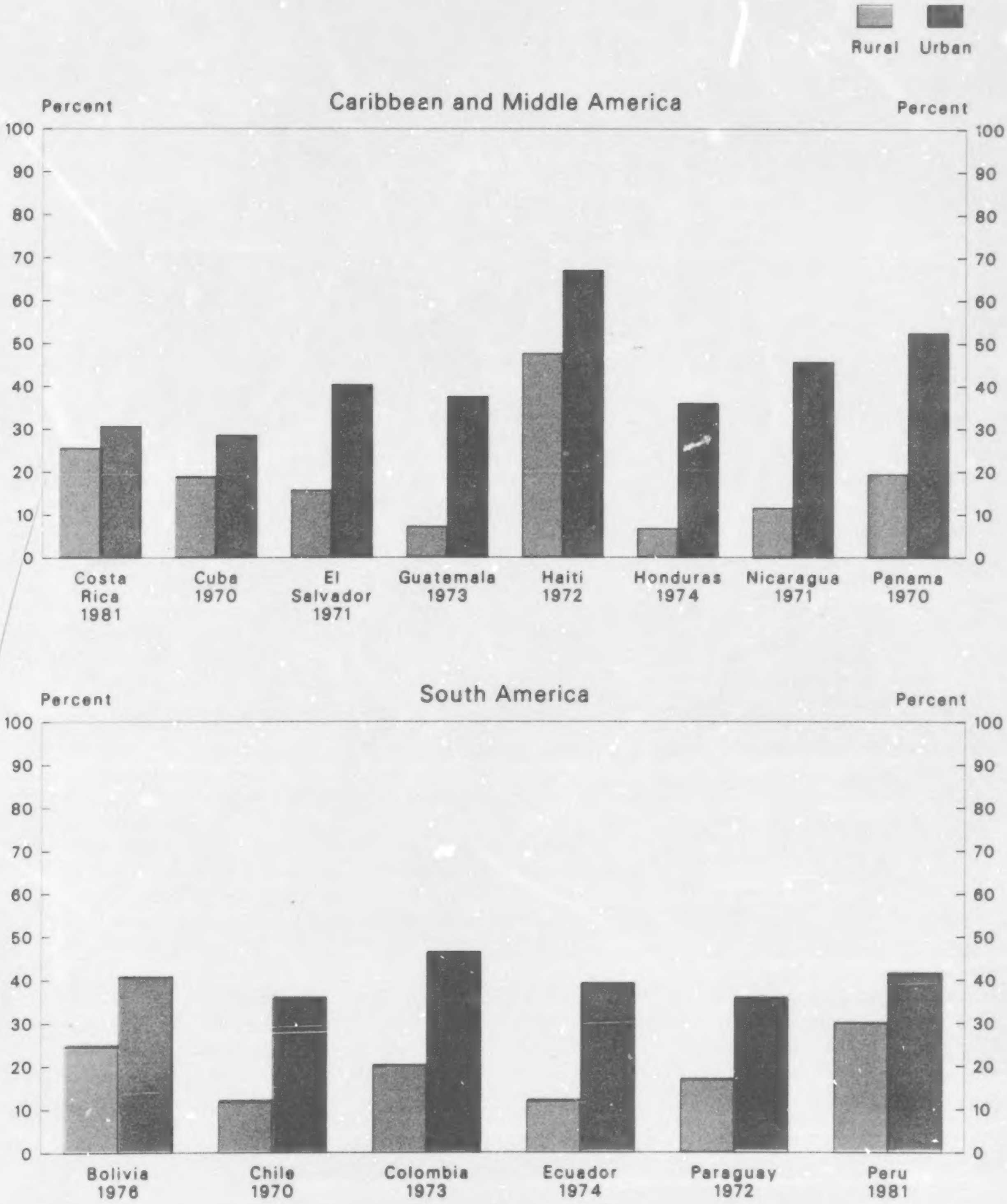
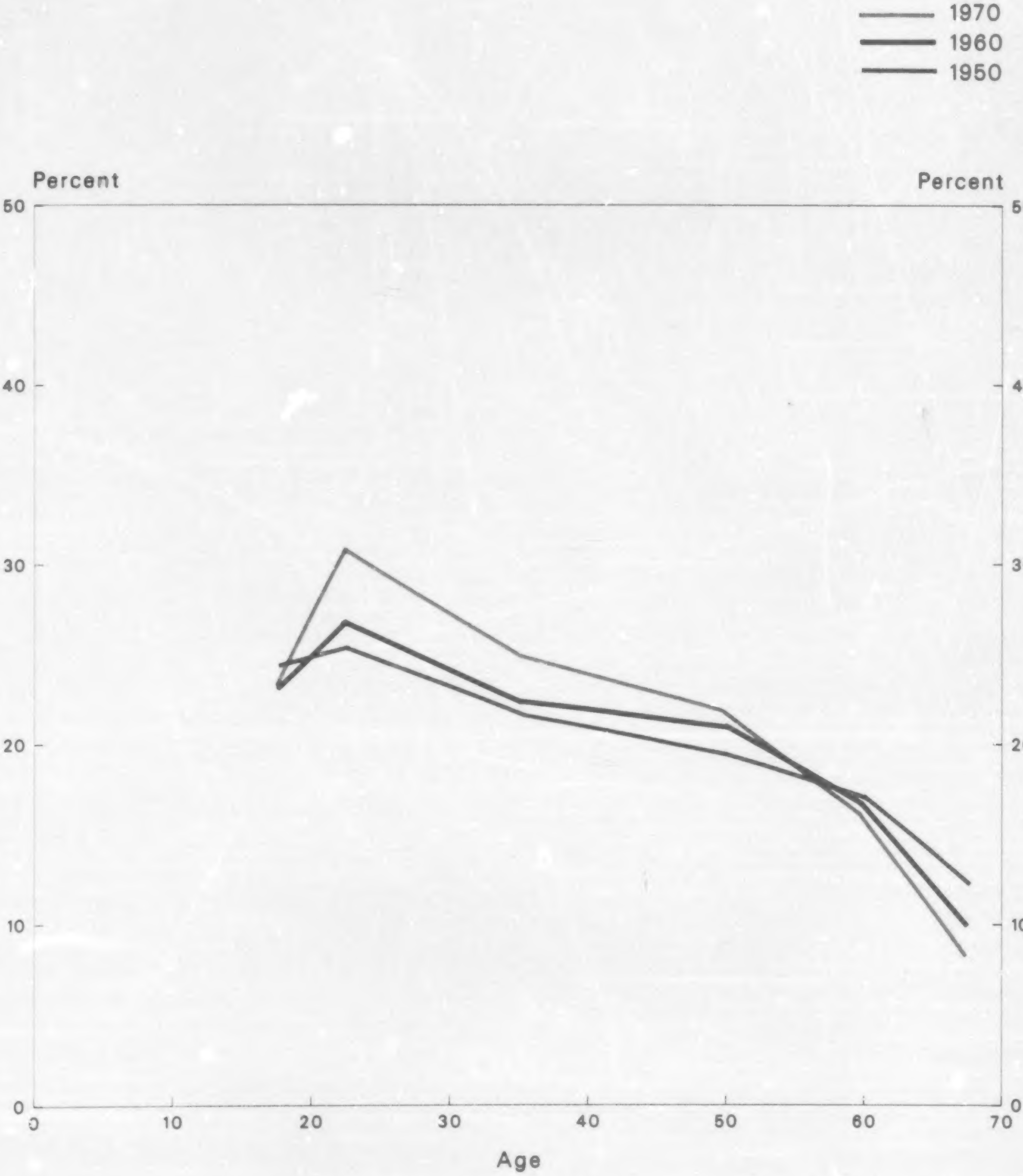
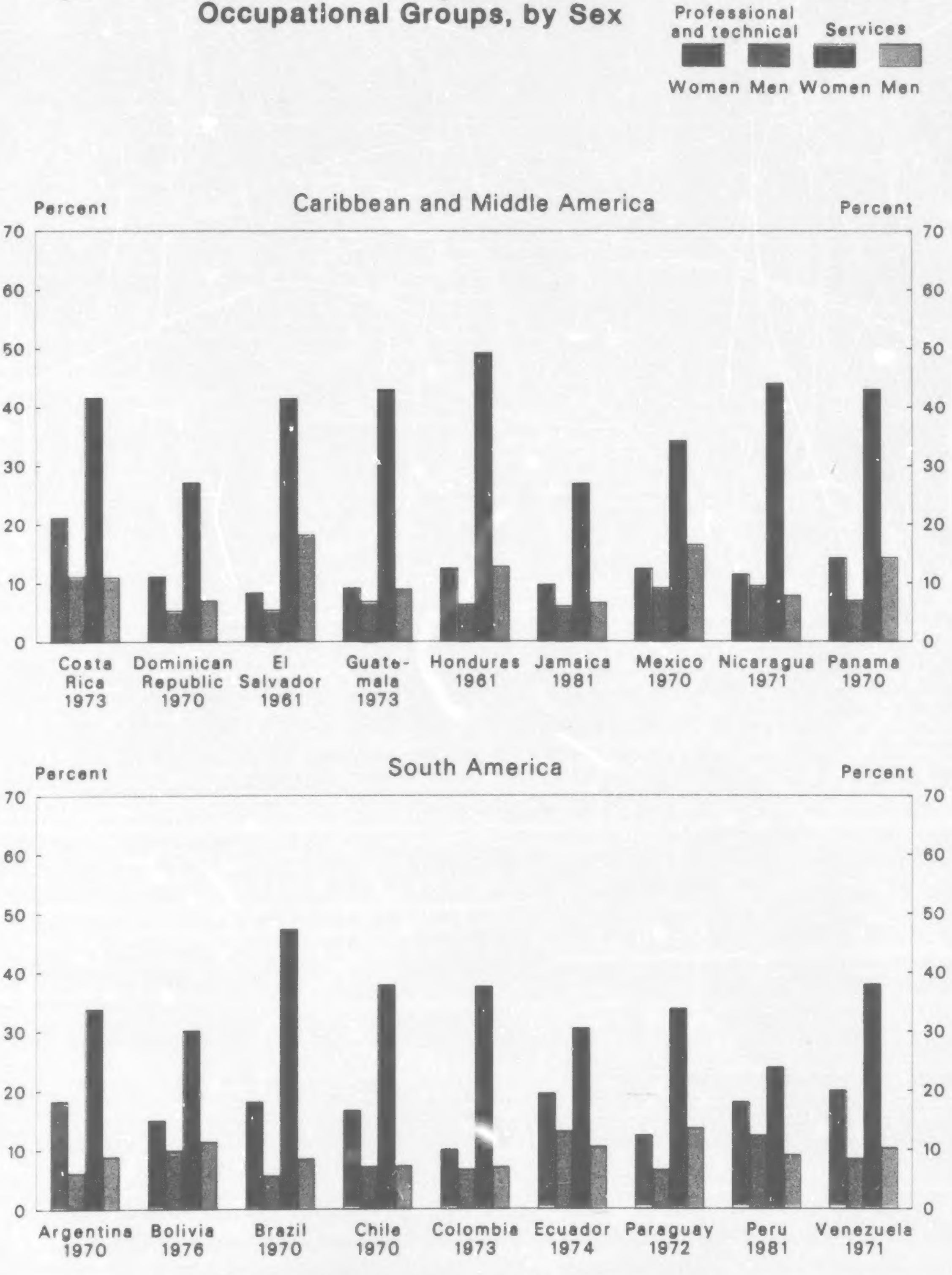


Figure 5.8. Latin America: Female Participation in the Labor Force by Age: 1950, 1960, and 1970



Source: ILO, 1977, table 2.

Figure 5.9. Percent of Nonagricultural Labor Force in Selected Occupational Groups, by Sex



Source: Inter-American Commission of Women, 1975, table 20; and national sources.

Table 5.1. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women Number	Women Percent	Men Number	Men Percent	F/M ratio of percent active (male = 1.00)
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba	1970	482	15.9	2,151	67.4	0.24
Dominican Republic	1970	319	23.7	922	69.5	0.34
Haiti	1972	1,128	69.5	1,124	76.2	0.91
Jamaica[1]	1978	437	64.3	502	80.0	0.80
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica[2]	1981	210	26.1	585	74.6	0.35
El Salvador	1971	252	20.8	914	78.4	0.27
Guatemala	1973	217	12.3	1,329	75.7	0.16
Honduras	1974	120	13.4	643	75.2	0.18
Mexico[2]	1970	2,466	16.4	10,489	71.7	0.23
Nicaragua	1971	110	17.2	395	65.8	0.26
Panama	1970	125	25.8	363	72.9	0.35
SOUTH AMERICA						
Argentina	1970	2,289	24.5	6,723	73.7	0.33
Bolivia	1976	330	19.9	1,154	72.7	0.27
Brazil	1970	6,165	18.5	23,392	71.8	0.26
Chile[2]	1970	6.6	19.7	2,079	71.7	0.27
Colombia	1973	1,651	22.4	4,668	67.8	0.33
Ecuador[2]	1974	329	15.8	1,611	78.4	0.20
Guyana[1]	1970	163	82.9	152	79.6	1.04
Paraguay[2]	1972	162	21.1	591	81.0	0.26
Peru	1981	1,336	22.1	3,926	66.2	0.33
Venezuela[3]	1979	1,090	27.8	2,911	75.6	0.37

[1] Refers to ages 14 years and over. Data for Guyana include persons who reported they were engaged in home duties during all or most of the 12 months preceding the census.

[2] Refers to ages 12 years and over.

[3] Refers to ages 15 years and over.

Table 5.2. Percent Distribution of Economically Active Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex

Region and country	Year	Total	Women	Men
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba	1970	100.0	18.3	81.7
Dominican Republic	1970	100.0	25.7	74.3
Haiti	1972	100.0	50.1	49.9
Jamaica[1]	1978	100.0	46.5	53.5
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica[2]	1981	100.0	26.4	73.6
El Salvador	1971	100.0	21.6	78.4
Guatemala	1973	100.0	14.0	86.0
Honduras	1974	100.0	15.7	84.3
Mexico[2]	1970	100.0	19.0	81.0
Nicaragua	1971	100.0	21.9	78.1
Panama	1970	100.0	25.6	74.4
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	1970	100.0	25.4	74.6
Bolivia	1976	100.0	22.2	77.8
Brazil	1970	100.0	20.9	79.1
Chile[2]	1970	100.0	22.9	77.1
Colombia	1973	100.0	26.1	73.9
Ecuador[2]	1974	100.0	17.0	83.0
Guyana[1]	1970	100.0	51.7	48.3
Paraguay	1972	100.0	21.5	78.5
Peru	1981	100.0	25.4	74.6
Venezuela[3]	1979	100.0	27.3	72.7

[1] Refers to ages 14 years and over. Data for Guyana include persons who reported they were engaged in home duties during all or most of the 12 months preceding the census.

[2] Refers to ages 12 years and over.

[3] Refers to ages 15 years and over.

Table 5.3. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Rural Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women		Men		F/M ratio of percent active (male= 1.00)
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba........................	1970	92	8.6	874	68.2	0.13
Haiti[1].....................	1972	909	73.3	971	80.2	0.91
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica[2]..................	1981	85	21.1	322	77.5	0.27
El Salvador..................	1971	84	12.6	587	83.6	0.15
Guatemala....................	1973	50	4.8	893	80.1	0.06
Honduras.....................	1974	39	6.8	470	80.2	0.08
Mexico[2,3]...................	1970	434	7.5	4,366	72.1	0.10
Nicaragua....................	1971	25	8.2	236	72.3	0.11
Panama.......................	1970	30	13.5	204	77.5	0.17
SOUTH AMERICA						
Bolivia......................	1976	150	16.2	721	78.5	0.21
Chile[2]......................	1970	57	8.9	602	79.3	0.11
Colombia.....................	1973	322	13.5	2,060	76.1	0.18
Ecuador[2]....................	1974	107	9.4	1,023	84.6	0.11
Paraguay[2]...................	1972	58	13.3	379	84.6	0.16
Peru.........................	1981	384	19.6	1,451	73.1	0.27

[1] Due to 1972 survey sampling and weighting errors, reported figures for rural and urban areas show a slight divergence from total country estimates.

[2] Refers to ages 12 years and over.

[3] Available Mexican census data by rural/urban residence exclude 94,000 economically active women and 165,000 economically active men in rural areas. Hence, sums of rural and urban figures in tables 5.3 and 5.4 do not equal total country figures shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.4. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Urban Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women		Men		F/M ratio of percent active (male= 1.00)
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba........................	1970	390	19.9	1,277	66.9	0.30
Haiti[1].....................	1972	237	57.5	169	59.0	0.97
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica[2]..................	1981	125	31.0	263	71.3	0.43
El Salvador.................	1971	168	31.0	327	70.5	0.44
Guatemala...................	1973	167	23.4	436	68.2	0.34
Honduras....................	1974	80	25.6	173	64.2	0.40
Mexico[2,3]....................	1970	1,975	19.3	5,614	65.5	0.29
Nicaragua...................	1971	86	25.2	159	58.1	0.43
Panama......................	1970	95	36.5	159	67.6	0.54
SOUTH AMERICA						
Bolivia......................	1976	180	24.7	433	64.7	0.38
Chile[2].......................	1970	559	22.5	1,477	69.1	0.33
Colombia.....................	1973	1,329	26.6	2,608	62.4	0.43
Ecuador[2].....................	1974	223	23.3	588	69.6	0.33
Paraguay[2]....................	1972	104	31.3	212	75.3	0.42
Peru.........................	1981	952	23.3	2,475	62.7	0.37

[1] Due to 1972 survey sampling and weighting errors, reported figures for rural and urban areas show a slight divergence from total country estimates.

[2] Refers to ages 12 years and over.

[3] Available Mexican census data by rural/urban residence exclude 144,000 economically active women and 344,000 economicaly active men in urban aeras. Hence, sums of rural and urban figures in tables 5.3 and 5.4 do not equal total country figures shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.5. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex
(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Women						
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba......................	1970	8.2	24.7	22.6	20.1	8.5
Dominican Republic.........	1970	17.0	28.7	28.5	29.0	25.1
Haiti......................	1972	51.3	78.6	81.7	83.0	70.9
Jamaica[1]..................	1978	51.9	86.0	86.0	80.3	46.1
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica.................	1981	[2]17.5	35.8	36.6	29.9	12.3
El Salvador................	1971	14.8	32.1	23.6	21.1	14.6
Guatemala..................	1973	9.2	16.4	14.0	13.8	10.4
Honduras...................	1974	7.9	20.1	18.2	15.2	10.3
Mexico.....................	1970	14.3	21.1	15.7	16.3	13.6
Nicaragua..................	1971	10.0	24.8	22.9	21.5	14.2
Panama.....................	1970	16.8	38.2	32.4	30.3	16.7
SOUTH AMERICA						
Argentina..................	1970	18.8	40.6	30.5	26.2	12.4
Bolivia....................	1976	14.6	25.3	23.2	22.7	17.1
Brazil.....................	1970	14.9	26.1	20.8	19.6	11.9
Chile......................	1970	[2]10.8	30.9	25.1	22.3	12.4
Colombia...................	1973	19.4	33.0	24.0	20.2	12.9
Ecuador....................	1974	[2]12.3	21.1	17.4	16.4	12.2
Guyana[3]...................	1970	[4]55.5	96.7	99.0	98.3	75.5
Paraguay...................	1972	[2]17.8	29.5	24.5	21.8	13.1
Peru.......................	1981	10.8	30.3	30.4	27.5	20.1
Venezuela..................	1979	[5]13.7	35.3	37.6	33.5	17.2

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.5. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex —Continued

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Men						
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba	1970	25.2	88.9	93.7	92.7	61.0
Dominican Republic	1970	37.8	86.5	93.7	90.2	84.4
Haiti	1972	50.8	85.6	94.9	95.1	87.7
Jamaica[1]	1978	61.6	97.0	97.6	96.2	77.5
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica	1981	[2]46.3	89.5	95.3	94.9	66.1
El Salvador	1971	48.2	95.5	98.9	98.9	88.0
Guatemala	1973	46.5	92.0	95.6	95.2	84.6
Honduras	1974	48.5	92.1	95.7	95.6	83.3
Mexico	1970	33.8	84.4	93.8	93.9	82.9
Nicaragua	1971	33.8	85.0	91.8	91.4	77.8
Panama	1970	33.8	94.9	97.4	96.5	77.6
SOUTH AMERICA						
Argentina	1970	36.4	91.7	98.3	96.8	62.1
Bolivia	1976	32.2	88.8	98.4	98.3	89.6
Brazil	1970	38.8	91.1	96.1	93.2	73.2
Chile	1970	[2]28.8	90.5	98.0	95.5	68.5
Colombia	1973	38.0	87.7	93.0	91.6	72.0
Ecuador	1974	[2]45.0	89.3	97.8	97.7	89.1
Guyana[3]	1970	[4]51.8	96.1	98.0	96.8	67.6
Paraguay	1972	[2]54.6	95.0	98.1	97.1	83.4
Peru	1981	19.1	83.1	98.1	98.6	83.7
Venezuela	1979	[5]40.0	80.2	92.7	94.5	78.6

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[1] Age groups for Jamaica are 14 to 24 years; 25 to 34 years; 35 to 44 years; 45 to 54 years; and 55 years and over.

[2] Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.

[3] Data for Guyana include as economically active people who reported they were engaged in home duties during all or most of the 12 months preceding the census.

[4] Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.

[5] Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.

Table 5.6. Labor Force Participation Rates for Rural Areas, by Age and Sex

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Women						
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba........................	1970	7.1	12.9	9.4	9.1	4.6
Haiti.......................	1972	57.1	81.5	83.5	84.9	73.6
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica..................	1981	[1]18.8	27.1	26.6	22.6	9.0
El Salvador.................	1971	12.0	19.5	10.7	9.8	7.7
Guatemala...................	1973	4.6	5.0	4.8	5.4	4.7
Honduras....................	1974	4.3	8.8	8.8	8.4	5.9
Nicaragua...................	1971	6.9	10.0	9.0	8.9	7.0
Panama......................	1970	12.1	18.0	14.8	13.4	9.0
SOUTH AMERICA						
Bolivia.....................	1976	13.7	18.8	16.5	17.2	15.9
Chile.......................	1970	[1]6.8	13.4	9.4	8.8	6.8
Colombia....................	1973	15.3	15.5	12.0	11.3	9.4
Ecuador.....................	1974	[1]8.6	10.7	9.2	9.7	9.1
Paraguay....................	1972	[1]13.1	16.9	13.9	13.1	9.1
Peru........................	1981	13.4	23.4	22.1	22.9	21.4

See footnote at end of table.

Table 5.6. Labor Force Participation Rates for Rural Areas, by Age and Sex—Continued

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Men						
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba........................	1970	28.5	91.6	95.3	93.8	64.4
Haiti.......................	1972	57.8	89.0	95.9	95.7	89.2
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica..................	1981	[1]55.1	93.6	95.8	94.6	65.4
El Salvador.................	1971	60.2	98.6	99.0	99.2	89.9
Guatemala...................	1973	56.1	94.8	95.8	95.5	86.9
Honduras....................	1974	57.3	96.4	97.6	97.1	86.4
Nicaragua...................	1971	47.8	87.8	90.7	90.8	80.8
Panama......................	1970	43.7	97.4	98.3	97.6	85.1
SOUTH AMERICA						
Bolivia.....................	1976	39.5	95.6	98.8	98.9	94.5
Chile.......................	1970	[1]43.4	97.2	98.5	97.4	81.0
Colombia....................	1973	52.7	94.0	94.3	93.1	79.6
Ecuador.....................	1974	[1]57.7	95.3	98.1	98.1	93.4
Paraguay....................	1972	[1]50.3	97.8	98.5	98.0	88.3
Peru........................	1981	29.4	94.7	98.9	99.1	91.1

[1] Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.

Table 5.7. Labor Force Participation Rates for Urban Areas, by Age and Sex
(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Women						
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba	1970	9.1	31.8	29.2	25.1	10.0
Haiti	1972	36.3	70.8	75.0	75.7	60.0
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica	1981	[1]15.7	44.5	45.6	36.4	14.9
El Salvador	1971	18.7	47.7	40.6	34.7	21.3
Guatemala	1973	16.3	32.9	28.4	26.3	17.2
Honduras	1974	14.5	38.7	36.4	29.1	16.7
Nicaragua	1971	12.9	38.4	36.1	32.5	19.3
Panama	1970	21.2	54.4	48.6	44.7	22.8
SOUTH AMERICA						
Bolivia	1976	15.6	32.4	32.2	30.6	19.3
Chile	1970	[1]11.9	34.9	28.9	25.8	13.9
Colombia	1973	21.4	40.4	30.1	24.8	14.6
Ecuador	1974	[1]16.3	32.4	27.8	25.0	16.3
Paraguay	1972	[1]24.2	45.6	38.9	33.1	17.9
Peru	1981	9.5	33.0	34.2	30.0	19.3

See footnote at end of table.

Table 5.7. Labor Force Participation Rates for Urban Areas, by Age and Sex—Continued

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Men						
CARIBBEAN						
Cuba........................	1970	22.4	87.1	92.7	92.0	59.0
Haiti.......................	1972	24.2	72.4	90.5	92.1	78.8
MIDDLE AMERICA						
Costa Rica..................	1981	[1]34.8	85.5	94.8	95.1	66.8
El Salvador.................	1971	29.7	91.0	98.8	98.5	85.2
Guatemala...................	1973	29.3	87.3	95.2	94.7	81.0
Honduras....................	1974	29.1	84.1	91.7	92.0	75.3
Nicaragua...................	1971	17.6	81.5	93.2	92.2	74.2
Panama......................	1970	21.9	92.5	96.4	95.3	69.1
SOUTH AMERICA						
Bolivia.....................	1976	23.3	81.2	97.7	97.5	79.7
Chile.......................	1970	[1]23.5	88.4	97.9	94.8	63.2
Colombia....................	1973	28.5	84.0	92.1	90.6	66.4
Ecuador.....................	1974	[1]28.6	81.6	97.3	97.1	81.8
Paraguay....................	1972	[1]45.9	90.4	97.3	95.7	75.6
Peru........................	1981	13.8	78.2	97.8	98.4	79.0

[1] Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.

Table 5.8. Female Share of Rural and Urban Labor Force, by Age
(In percent)

Region and county	Year	All ages	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Rural							
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba....................	1970	9.6	18.8	11.2	7.8	7.4	4.4
Haiti...................	1972	48.4	47.6	51.1	50.8	45.9	45.9
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica..............	1981	21.0	[1]25.5	22.7	20.7	18.1	11.3
El Salvador.............	1971	12.5	15.7	16.8	9.3	8.5	7.1
Guatemala...............	1973	5.3	7.1	4.9	4.6	4.8	4.5
Honduras................	1974	7.7	6.7	8.8	8.3	7.8	6.8
Nicaragua...............	1971	9.5	11.5	10.2	8.8	8.1	6.8
Panama..................	1970	12.9	19.4	14.2	11.5	10.1	7.6
SOUTH AMERICA							
Bolivia.................	1976	17.3	24.6	16.9	14.7	15.1	15.7
Chile...................	1970	8.7	[1]11.8	10.3	7.7	7.2	6.7
Colombia................	1973	13.5	20.1	13.0	10.7	9.7	8.9
Ecuador.................	1974	9.4	[1]11.9	9.8	8.3	8.4	8.4
Paraguay................	1972	13.2	[1]16.8	14.3	12.1	11.5	9.5
Peru....................	1981	20.9	29.9	20.2	18.7	18.9	19.0

See footnote at end of table.

Table 5.8. Female Share of Rural and Urban Labor Force, by Age—Continued

(In percent)

Region and county	Year	All ages	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Urban							
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba....................	1970	23.4	28.5	27.2	24.6	22.4	15.0
Haiti...................	1972	58.3	66.9	61.8	54.4	51.0	53.4
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica..............	1981	32.2	[1]30.6	35.1	37.3	30.3	20.9
El Salvador.............	1971	33.9	40.3	38.0	32.6	29.9	25.0
Guatemala...............	1973	27.6	37.5	29.9	25.1	23.6	19.6
Honduras................	1974	31.8	35.8	35.6	31.0	26.8	22.2
Nicaragua...............	1971	35.0	45.6	38.1	32.5	30.4	27.6
Panama..................	1970	37.3	52.4	39.5	35.5	32.4	26.8
SOUTH AMERICA							
Bolivia.................	1976	29.3	40.6	30.0	27.0	26.2	23.2
Chile...................	1970	27.5	[1]35.6	31.4	25.3	23.5	22.1
Colombia................	1973	33.7	46.2	37.5	28.2	24.5	21.3
Ecuador.................	1974	27.5	[1]38.9	30.9	24.2	22.2	19.2
Paraguay................	1972	32.9	[1]35.7	38.1	32.4	28.8	24.2
Peru....................	1981	27.8	41.3	31.2	26.6	23.4	20.5

[1] Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.

Table 5.9. Number and Percent of Population in Urban Labor Force, by Sex, for Age Groups 10 to 14 Years and 60 Years and Over

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	10 to 14 years				60 years and over			
		Girls		Boys		Women		Men	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba....................	1970	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.3	10.6	4.0	97.8	37.7
Dominican Republic......	1970	35.2	12.3	70.8	24.7	22.5	23.5	80.7	79.4
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica[1].............	1973	1.8	5.5	3.2	10.4	2.2	7.6	12.9	58.9
El Salvador.............	1971	4.6	5.1	10.3	11.4	8.5	16.3	28.4	75.6
Guatemala...............	1973	6.9	5.6	12.5	10.3	7.4	13.0	33.1	70.2
Honduras................	1974	2.0	3.5	5.5	9.8	2.5	11.3	10.2	62.6
Nicaragua...............	1971	2.4	3.7	2.7	4.4	4.1	14.0	11.5	61.8
Panama..................	1970	1.9	4.8	1.2	3.2	2.9	13.0	8.4	46.0
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia.................	1976	7.2	6.2	6.8	5.8	7.8	14.6	25.8	65.0
Chile[1]...................	1970	5.6	2.3	8.7	3.7	24.4	8.6	95.5	45.6
Colombia................	1973	105.5	11.4	122.3	13.8	37.3	10.5	137.9	50.5
Ecuador[1]................	1974	9.0	8.0	11.0	10.3	10.6	12.5	47.8	71.4
Paraguay[1]...............	1972	3.6	9.7	5.6	15.9	4.5	12.0	15.7	62.0
Peru....................	1981	17.0	2.5	17.4	2.5	44.3	13.6	182.0	62.7

[1] Refers to ages 12 to 14 years.

Table 5.10. Percent of Labor Force in Agriculture, by Sex

Region and country	Year	Total	Women	Men
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba	1970	30	8	35
Dominican Republic	1970	56	44	59
Haiti	1980	68	53	81
Jamaica	1980	31	18	42
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica	1973	36	4	44
El Salvador	1979	44	23	54
Guatemala	1979	58	6	67
Honduras	1974	62	7	72
Mexico	1970	42	12	48
Nicaragua	1971	48	8	59
Panama	1979	29	5	40
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	1970	16	4	20
Bolivia	1976	48	27	54
Brazil	1980	31	15	37
Chile	1970	23	3	29
Colombia	1973	35	4	44
Ecuador	1974	46	12	53
Guyana	1970	24	10	27
Paraguay	1972	51	14	62
Peru	1981	36	21	42
Venezuela	1980	15	3	19

Sources: Data for most countries are taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983b. Figures for Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, and Venezuela are from various issues of the International Labour Office, Yearbook of Labour Statistics.

Table 5.11. Percent Distribution of Nonagricultural Labor Force, by Principal Occupation Group and Sex

Region and country	Year	Professional and technical		Directors, supervisors		Administrative personnel		Clerical, sales		Services		Production and related workers	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
CARIBBEAN													
Dominican Republic..	1970	11.1	5.3	0.5	0.9	17.0	16.6	8.6	14.5	27.1	7.0	35.7	55.7
Jamaica............	1981	9.7	6.0	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	46.1	51.4	26.9	6.6	17.1	35.8
MIDDLE AMERICA													
Costa Rica..........	1973	21.2	11.1	0.9	3.4	11.0	9.4	8.7	14.7	41.6	11.0	16.6	50.4
El Salvador.........	1961	8.3	5.4	0.1	1.0	6.3	10.3	17.7	10.5	41.4	18.2	26.2	54.6
Guatemala...........	1973	9.1	6.8	2.7	4.2	7.0	6.2	15.9	12.7	42.9	8.9	22.4	61.2
Honduras............	1961	12.5	6.3	0.6	3.1	6.4	8.7	12.3	14.8	49.2	12.8	19.0	54.3
Mexico..............	1970	12.4	9.1	2.6	5.0	19.8	10.9	13.4	13.1	34.2	16.5	17.6	45.4
Nicaragua...........	1971	11.4	9.5	0.6	2.7	7.9	8.6	18.3	11.5	44.0	7.8	17.8	59.9
Panama..............	1970	14.2	7.0	1.5	6.3	21.1	9.1	9.2	11.5	43.0	14.3	11.0	51.8
SOUTH AMERICA													
Argentina...........	1970	18.2	6.1	0.5	2.5	17.9	12.9	12.6	16.0	33.7	8.8	17.1	53.7
Bolivia.............	1976	14.9	9.9	0.7	1.5	(2)	(2)	28.9	16.2	30.1	11.3	25.5	61.1
Brazil..............	1970	18.0	5.6	1.2	4.2	11.4	10.0	6.9	18.1	47.3	8.4	15.2	53.7
Chile...............	1970	16.5	7.1	1.6	3.1	14.2	12.9	11.2	11.5	37.7	7.2	18.8	58.2
Colombia............	1973	9.8	6.6	0.4	1.5	13.4	8.5	8.8	14.5	37.5	7.0	15.4	44.5
Ecuador.............	1974	19.3	13.0	1.0	3.9	11.8	10.6	18.4	25.0	30.4	10.4	19.0	37.1
Paraguay............	1972	12.2	6.5	0.4	1.7	(2)	(2)	20.9	23.8	33.7	13.5	32.7	54.4
Peru................	1981	17.8	12.3	0.2	1.1	22.1	16.7	22.4	17.0	23.8	9.0	13.7	43.9
Venezuela...........	1971	19.8	8.4	1.5	4.7	(2)	(2)	27.0	27.8	37.9	10.2	13.8	48.8

[1] Directors, supervisors, and other administrative personnel are included in the "Professional and technical" category.
[2] All administrative personnel are included in the "Directors, supervisors" category.

Note: The nonagricultural labor force generally includes persons who are 15 years of age and over. Younger ages are included in some countries, with the lowest criterion being ages 7 years and over in Bolivia. For all countries in this table, men outnumber women in the nonagricultural labor force. Female/male ratios range from 0.38 in Mexico to 0.80 in Jamaica. Hence, a higher female than male percentage for a specific occupational category is not necessarily indicative of a numerical female majority within that category.

Source: Inter-American Commission of Women, 1975, table 20; and national sources.

Chapter 6

Marital Status and Living Arrangements

As with most of the world's women, Latin American and Caribbean women perceive motherhood as their destiny. Whether they are European, African, East Indian or indigenous in their ethnic background; educated or illiterate; residents in urban or rural areas; full-time workers for pay outside the household or housewives; and whatever their socioeconomic class or religious affiliation, Latin American and Caribbean women still almost without exception aspire to the traditionally honorable vocation that has conferred the greatest status on women: childbearing and childrearing. In this chapter, the analysis focuses on women's family roles and household arrangements, both of which have important implications not only for women's position in their societies, but for planners as well. Chapter 7 discusses fertility.

Because mothering activities usually take place in the context of family and household, it is in these domains that women exercise their greatest degree of power and influence, and family and household forms become important status markers for women. Paradoxically, however, as McKenzie (1982, p. viii) notes, while it is in the activities associated with motherhood that women find their greatest opportunities to exercise independence, responsibility, decisionmaking, and control over self and others, "since childbearing also requires at least a *genitor* (if not necessarily a *pater)*, women also actively seek the emotional and economic support of men for themselves and their offspring. It is in these domains of sexual and emotional involvement with their men, the fathers of their children and their (sometimes) breadwinners, that women appear to be the weakest."

Twenty years ago, anthropologist Smith (1963) outlined the complexities of family and kinship structures in the Caribbean. The debate has continued with two theories on the evolution of family forms represented by Herskovits (1941) who traced the origins to West African traditions, and Frazier (1948) who believed that present-day household arrangements grew out of the constraints on family life in the time of slavery. With the intermingling of European, Asian, African, and Amer-Indian cultures, the situation in Central and South America is no less complex. Even when analysis is carried out on only one region, ethnic, or class group, the variability in behavior patterns leads to many problems and uncertainties of interpretation (Smith, 1963, p. 449). A recent insightful description of motherhood and partnering in the Caribbean with emphasis on Barbados is that of Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow (1977), and a collection edited by Marks and Romer (1978) has articles on family and kinship for many countries of the region as well as for Middle America.

Marital and household arrangements are important indicators of women's position in the region and need to be explored in an analysis of women's situation. The primacy of motherhood does not always mean, as in times past, that women view their lives primarily in terms of their relationships to children and male partners. Such an attitude was, of course, more an aspiration than a reality; the majority of poor women always have worked outside the home. In the Afro-Caribbean, economic collaboration not only has been expected of women, even with a man present in the household, but "gives women considerable public respect and independence" (Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow, 1977, p. 296). The same authors (p. 297) point to the centrality in the Afro-Caribbean of mother-child and sibling bonds, and the importance ascribed to the role of mother in contrast to the role of wife. Massiah (1981b) in discussing the West Indies insists on "emotional supports," including satisfactory partnership arrangements and motherhood, as important status indicators for women.

In many Latin American countries, society also now approves women's participation in education and paid employment, but recent studies of women's situation underscore the fact that the position of mother, even among women who have achieved high status in professions and government, has scarcely diminished in importance. Chaney (1979) demonstrates how professional women extrapolate their motherhood role to the arena of public affairs to validate their activities outside the home.

Motherhood, preferably linked to formal marriage, thus is an important indicator of women's status, but such linkage has different meanings according to region and is modified by religion, ethnic heritage, and socioeconomic class. Indian women in Trinidad and Guyana, for example, have the highest tendency toward formal marriage and large families; they also enter marriage at a younger age than their Afro-Caribbean counterparts (Roberts, 1975, pp. 125-130).[1] There is much less independent economic activity among women and there exists a patriarchal family tradition with jural rights held by the male household head over his sons and their wives and children. At the same time, while the ideal is marriage according to traditional religious rites, and first marriages almost always are solemnized formally in Trinidad, there is a high rate of separation and divorce and a strong tendency towards the consensual form in subsequent unions (Smith, 1963, p. 468; and Smith and Jaywardena, 1959).

In the Afro-Caribbean, where family forms have remained remarkably constant since the emancipation period (1835-1865) (Roberts and Sinclair, 1978, pp. 6-7; and Smith, 1982, p. 135), the category of union status has been adopted in the census to cover marital status from the woman's standpoint (marital status for both women and men is given in a separate census volume). Two types of union involve coresidence (legally and consensually married), and one does not (the visiting union, where the man comes to spend time with the woman, but does not reside in the same house). Women who are not in any of these unions are further subdivided in a manner that distinguishes those who have at one time had a partner from those who are, in fact, single (see below). In Haiti, there are two forms of marital union: the church-sanctioned marriage, and *plaçage,* or consensual union (Herskovits, 1971, p. 107).

Typically in the Afro-Caribbean, the consensually married form a large category, sometimes larger than the legally married. There is, however, little societal disapproval for consensual unions, or even for visiting relationships, and for the offspring that result. In several countries, including Jamaica, illegitimacy no longer is noted on birth records.[2] A normal pattern is for a woman to have several serial unions in which she "has a baby for" her current partner. Formal marriage is associated with attaining a certain position in life, a state to be entered upon at a mature age by a couple in an enduring partnership who already have, or can afford, a proper house, furnishings and the costs of a wedding (Henriques, 1953, p. 110). Many baby fathers (as they are called) do contribute to the support of their offspring from several relationships. Smith (1982, p. 132) documents how men use income to fulfill obligations often dispersed over a number of domestic groups that may include their own mothers, the mothers of their children, current girl friends, and their own legal or common-law wife.

Often Caribbean women are as reluctant as their menfolk to formalize their relationships. Women like to manage their own affairs and to be able to tell a man to leave their house if they are no longer getting along. Statistically, first unions of younger Afro-Caribbean women tend to be of the visiting type. The major feature, according to Roberts and Sinclair (1978, p. 5), is one of shifts from visiting to married and, to a lesser extent, from common law to married. Thus, by their forties, most women expect to be married (Smith, 1957, p. xviii; see also Buvinić and Youssef, 1978, Introduction; Brodber, 1975; Clarke, 1957; and Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow, 1977).

Women in countries where the Hispanic heritage is strong (Colombia, Ecuador and, to a lesser extent, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela) still register fairly high rates of consensual marriage, especially among the poor, yet women aspire to the dominant middle class ideal: to be the "señora," the official wife in a marriage blessed by the church, and installed in a setting where, at least outwardly, her husband complies with his responsibilities and accords her the respect due a wife. The Spanish ideal allows a certain tolerance for a man's (but never a woman's) extra-marital relationships and second families, so long as outward appearances are maintained. (Gutiérrez de Pineda has written the classic studies on Colombia, 1975 and 1977.)

Particularly among the middle classes, the position of legitimate wife clearly is the most desirable one in both Hispanic and Afro-Caribbean societies. In both cases, the middle classes are more actively observant of their religious duties (whether they are Catholic or Protestant) than either the poorer classes or the elites. In the Hispanic countries, there still is some degree of stigma attached to consensual unions, and to the children of those unions—even though in some countries (Bolivia and Cuba) the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children also has been abolished in law, as it has in Jamaica.

In the past, religious marriage rites in many cases were not solemnized among the poor because few could afford the fees for the ceremony or for the marriage feast that the community always expected. Consensual forms of marriage in Hispanic countries most often are enduring relationships. Particularly among the poor in isolated rural areas where the priest comes only a few times a year, church marriage and other religious rites are not of very high priority.

In Hispanic America, the significance of being in a marital status blessed by the church (legally married rather than consensually married or divorced) clearly is social rather than juridical; the strong tendency in law is to overlook the distinctions. Poor women, whether or not they are legally married, have few legal options in the case of nonsupport, desertion, or abuse. The women in the greatest jeopardy under this system are those linked to men (especially if their partners are of another social class) who already have official wives. In these cases, women have little or no legal recourse if the men desert them and their children. However, these polygamous unions sometimes are worth the risk because, in the Afro-Caribbean at least, they often bring access to ties with the man's affinal relatives and further, the deserted woman then goes on to form a union with a man of her own status.

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[1] Hindu or Muslim religious marriages now are considered legal unions among the non-African population. In some countries of Latin America, a properly registered religious ceremony ratifies a legal union; in others, even where Catholicism is established as the official religion, as in Peru, civil marriage precedes the religious rites.

[2] The Jamaica Status of Children Act of 1976 removes any legal disabilities of children born out of wedlock. Roberts and Sinclair (1978, p. 51) believe that the law could influence many family relationships.

In countries with large indigenous populations such as Bolivia, Peru, and some Central American nations, the ratio of consensual forms of marriage to those sanctioned by formal religious rites tends to be greater than in other Hispanic countries, although not so high as in the Afro-Caribbean. Indeed, at times, the number of customary unions outstrips the officially sanctioned. In these countries, there is less negative sanction attached to informal unions. The ancient custom of *sirvinakuy* may be another reason that formal marriage is taken less seriously, at least in the Andean countries. In the *sirvinakuy*, the prospective bride goes to live with her intended husband in his father's house (sometimes she is "kidnapped," with or without her consent) for a period ranging from 6 months to 2 years. The custom is not analogous to living together in the modern sense, since it is a venture carefully regulated by the elders of the community, and is not entered into lightly or abandoned without serious discussion on the part of the pair and their families (Barrionuevo, 1971, pp. 3-4).

After the time agreed upon, if the couple decides to stay together, their intention is signalled more by their setting up their own household than by church rites (although these often are celebrated). The *sirvinakuy*, it is important to note, is a test not only of the woman's fitness for marriage and childbearing, but also of the man's behavior and of his ability to procreate and maintain children.

Finally, and here the analysis comes full circle, there are countries with very high legal marriage/low consensual union rates; these are the countries with large European populations—Argentina and Chile are the countries represented in this data set.

The Household

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the household often contains not only a conjugal pair and their offspring, but family members from other generations. The household, generally defined as a coresidential group that prepares food together, may include parents of the partners, several adults of the same generation (most often related by blood), children of brothers and sisters, and sometimes more than one conjugal pair. Family, in turn, is not necessarily coterminous with household, in that persons who are considered to be family members do not always live together. Some members of nuclear families may have migrated in search of work (and be absent from the household for years), yet still maintain close ties with those left behind. The special situation of women left behind by migration, both internal and international, is emphasized in Buvinić and Youssef (1978); Youssef (1983, pp. 15-17); and Chaney (1980 and 1982).

Nor does the household necessarily need to contain a conjugal pair at all; today there is a growing incidence of households headed by women, where a man may or may not be present. Widowhood, divorce, and separation are the most obvious mechanisms creating women-headed households. Often, however, a woman heads a household with a male partner either in residence or visiting who, for reasons of incapacity, unwillingness to work, or unemployment, does not assume his financial responsibilities and/or allows the woman to manage the economic affairs, even though he may contribute his share in cash or kind. The key to the definition appears to be that a woman head is one who has assumed economic responsibility for herself and her children. She may or may not be acknowledged by the other members as the head (for a discussion, see Buvinić and Youssef, 1978, pp. 9-12; and Massiah, 1982, pp. 67-70).

As Buvinić and Sebstad (1980) point out, the term head of household can have both economic and cultural meanings. They underscore that women-headed households account for a significant proportion of households in the Third World (United Nations figures estimate 30 percent of all households in developing countries are headed by women), and they appear to be found most often among the poor. (Substantiating data from some representative studies are found in Buvinić and Sebstad, pp. 40-42; there are additonal analyses as well.[3]) Most of the information on female headship comes from surveys rather than census sources, and these indicate that the census figures on the number of female household heads are consistently too low (Youssef and Hetler, 1983 pp. 230-231). It is important to emphasize that female headship of households is not confined to the developing world; in the United States as well, women-headed households now also number approximately one-third of all households.

Solien de González (1971 and 1979) has suggested that migration has strongly influenced family and household patterns in the Caribbean. Women, left alone for long periods (and often abandoned), form domestic units with other women—their mothers, sisters, and grandmothers—or with male relatives, principally their brothers and sons. In the Afro-Caribbean, it is not unusual for young women to leave their offspring with their mothers in the countryside when they go to work in the towns and cities of their own islands, or abroad. Sometimes parents never return, leading to a serious problem of abandoned children (see Brodber, 1974).

During the past decade, a growing body of important research uses the household or domestic group as the unit of analysis. Schmink (1982) outlines the important trends in this approach and (1983) critiques the studies carried out to date. The two leading approaches grew out of Latin American "survival strategies" studies (representative analyses include Duque and Pastrana, 1973; Lomnitz, 1977; Merrick and Schmink, 1983;

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[3] Studies documenting the poverty of women-headed households in the region include Brazil: Merrick, 1977; Merrick and Schmink, 1983; and Sant'Anna, Merrick, and Mazumdar, 1976; the Caribbean: Massiah (1982) has produced the most complete study, while the International Center for Research on Women did the pioneering work and produced three studies that include Caribbean data—Buvinić and Youssef, 1978; Buvinić and Sebstad, 1980; and Youssef and Hetler, 1983; Colombia: Garcia Castro, 1982; and Rey de Marulanda, 1982; Costa Rica: López de Piza, 1977; El Salvador: Nieves, 1977; Jamaica: Clarke's 1957 study is the definitive work, and Bolles (1981) has data for Kingston; Mexico: Arizpe, 1977a; García, et al., 1982; and Tienda and Salazar, 1982; Venezuela: Blumberg, 1977; and Schmink, 1977. One study contending that women-headed households are not always so disadvantaged is S. Brown (1977).

and Torrado, 1981) and the new household economics school (represented by Becker, 1965; and Schultz, 1974).

Students of international migration also have found the household a convenient unit to study, since out migration is a chief survival strategy among the rural poor (Porter and Hirschman, 1982; Wood, 1982; Pessar, 1982; and Dinerman, 1978 and 1982). The household framework of analysis provides a way to account for the productive activities of all members, including women and children, whether or not the activities are remunerated. Along with household studies, increasing attention has been given to time-budget or time use studies, although not very many actually have been carried out in Latin America (see Deere and León de Leal, 1982; Knudsen and Yates, 1981; and Schmink, 1979). Mueller (1982) has written a definitive article on the findings of time use studies throughout the world; and a short critique by Buvinić is included in a longer article on poor women in the Third World (1983, pp. 20-22). Such studies are useful in depicting exactly how each family member spends his or her time and have highlighted the fact that women may devote more time to productive and other household activities than men, although such work often is not waged and, therefore, not counted in official statistics, as outlined in the preceding chapter.

The household also is the unit used for multipurpose or multisubject surveys sponsored by governments and used to generate data for national accounts statistics, to calculate consumer price indexes and to measure elasticity of demand, among other purposes (J. Brown, et al., 1978). Recently, the range of survey topics has broadened beyond these macroeconomic topics, as information has been required on specific groups such as slum dwellers, rural subsistence farmers, and women in urban and rural settings and on such topics as health, nutrition, employment, unemployment, and education (Scott, 1978, p. 15). Planning cannot proceed unless exact information is gathered on people with low incomes—where they live, what skills they have, and what kinds of training and supports they need to become productive members of their communities. A convenient summary of recent household survey approaches in developing countries is OECD (1978); there also is a working document by Anker (1980) on structured questionnaires for large-scale household surveys that emphasize the roles of women. Scott, et al. (1980) comment on the World Bank household surveys under the Bank's Living Standards Measurement Study, and Altimir and Sourrouille (1980) review problems in conducting household surveys in Latin America.

Several researchers are on record as warning that the household approaches assume that the mother bears most of the time costs related to bearing and raising children (Oppong, 1982, pp. 2-3). The household is assumed to be a homogeneous unit in which a conjugal pair generate and allocate resources and make decisions on a joint basis (ibid.); the reality, however, is that there is great variation in how these activities are carried out within and across households in different cultures. For a critical review of the leading approaches, in addition to Schmink (1983) already cited, see Vlassoff (1983). Smith (1982) criticizes the household unit approach on similar grounds for the West Indies. The domestic unit for Africa and the Afro-Caribbean is submerged in a more important kindred exchange system.

Data Availability and Quality

Marital status is universally reported in all censuses, and the WID Data Base provides fairly complete information on the total population for every country except Haiti. Data are not available on marital status in rural/urban areas for Haiti, Argentina, Guyana, and Jamaica nor for specific age groups in Guyana. Jamaica, in addition to marital status, reports union status, the partnering relationship from the female perspective. Although the literature indicates that consensual unions still are prevalent in Bolivia, they are not reported apart from the legally married, since no distinction is made in law any longer between the two kinds of marital unions.

Quality of data is a concern. The tendency, particularly in Hispanic countries, to report consensual as legal unions, or not to report consensual unions at all, probably leads to an overestimation of legal marriages (see Population Reports, 1979b, p. 138ff for a discussion). Many women who report themselves as single may be in long- or short-term relationships with male partners. The classic case is the domestic servant in Latin America who is constrained to remain single (and preferably childless) as a condition of employment, but who, in fact, most often finds ways to circumvent the obstacles to a relationship.[4] In the Afro-Caribbean, where informal unions have little cultural sanction and class differences are not so marked, the statistics on various marriage forms may be more accurate. Nevertheless, 22 percent of women heads of household were unwilling to state their union status for the Commonwealth Caribbean census (Buvinić and Youssef, 1978, p. 56).

While the concept of union status, adopted in the 1970 census for the 15 Commonwealth Caribbean territories, is of great utility in clarifying women's marital situation, there still are some difficulties. For one thing, the visiting union type indicates only those women who did not live with a partner but who had a child in the year prior to the census; many women who were in a visiting relationship but did [illegible] produce an offspring in the preceding year did not, under this system, have any category in which to register their union status. A further division is made in the Caribbean census of women not in any of the three union statuses (legally married, consensually married, or visiting): those no longer living with a husband; those no longer living with a common-law partner, and those who never have had a husband or common law partner. The latter category gives, in the opinon of Caribbean experts, a much more accurate measure of single women than the data on marital status (Massiah, 1982, p. 72). Women who are under 45 years of age report the type of relationship existing at the time of the census. Women who are over 45 years of age, however, report the type of relationship that existed at age 45 years. Union status is not reported at all for women who are in school.

in looking at the numbers of divorced and separated, it should be remembered that until recently legal divorce did not exist in several Latin American countries, and it often still is viewed in an extremely negative light. Women who are in fact divorced may not want to admit their status, and if their former husband has died in the meantime, they may simply designate themselves as widowed.

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[4] Bunster and Chaney (forthcoming) show that, contrary to common beliefs about the proneness to promiscuity of domestic servants, those in their study (Peru) have no more than one or two unions. In the Caribbean, a study of women in various types of union in Trinidad and Jamaica shows that women who initially are married in a legal or consensual union tend to remain in one union; the number involved in two or more unions is negligible (Roberts and Sinclair, 1978, p. 35).

So far as women-headed households are concerned, the most comprehensive critique of census data on female headship recently has been compiled by Youssef and Hetler (1983), and their expanded study will be published shortly by the International Labour Office. According to their examination of available censuses, only 4 of 69 countries reviewed provided headship data by all of the disaggregations employed in this handbook: age, sex, and rural/urban residence (ibid., p. 241). An overriding difficulty is that the definitions of both family and household head are neither clear nor consistent in censuses and surveys; the United Nations suggests that household headship should designate the person who bears chief economic responsibility for maintenance of the household, but does not recommend that such a definition be applied in censuses because information on which to determine economic responsibility is difficult to collect (ibid., p. 225). More countries reported data on household headship than defined it (ibid., p. 226). There also is a tendency to drop the designation entirely as "a repugnant procedure, smacking of authoritarianism" (United Nations, 1980, p. 9). Buvinić and Sebstad (1980, pp. 39-40) also underscore the obscurities in definitions of household heads. A detailed discussion from the United Nations perspective is contained in the U.N. Statistical Office publication cited above, pp. 9-15.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean census of 1970, in contrast, a great deal of information was collected on women heads of household, including their age, marital status, education, and participation in the labor force. Preliminary analysis of this data set was carried out by the International Center for Research on Women in its 1978 study (Buvinić and Youssef), and a much more exhaustive analysis has since been completed by Massiah (1982). Both of these publications assess the women heads of household data in the Commonwealth Caribbean census of 1970.

The Women in Development data base contains information on female headship for 12 of the 21 countries included. Only eight of these provide disaggregations by age. It is well to mention once again that surveys consistently show that censuses report female headship too low (Youssef and Hetler, 1983, pp. 230-231).

Marital Status in Latin America and the Caribbean

In the 1970's, the legal age at marriage for both women and men, as noted in table 6.1, was quite low—14 years of age or under for girls in 14 countries. The legal age probably has little effect on the actual age at first union, since those who had entered a partnership at younger than legal age would be constrained to say they were older to anyone representing legal authority, including a census worker. One-half the women in all the countries included are married by age 23 years or younger; in 11 of the countries, the age at which one-half are married is 21 years or younger (table 6.2).

In rural areas (except for Chile), the data show that women enter unions at somewhat younger ages than urban women. When 75 percent of ever-married women are included in the calculation, the difference in age at marriage between rural and urban ever-married women increases, that is, more women are married at substantially younger ages in the rural areas, as figure 6.1 shows. Women in urban regions may defer marriage because they are working or going to school; those in rural areas have fewer alternatives.

Marital status of women and men 15 years old and over is shown in table 6.3. When percentages married either legally or consensually are summed, they show differences of only 1 or 2 percentage points between women and men. Exceptions are Cuba and the Dominican Republic; the discrepancies here perhaps may be explained by a greater number of men in the married category who were absent as refugees in the one case, and as international migrants in the other.

The most striking contrasts between women and men are found in the single and post-marital categories, with lower proportions of single women than single men, and higher proportions of women than men who are widowed, separated, or divorced. These differences are accentuated more in urban than rural areas, as tables 6.4 and 6.5 show. Figure 6.2 demonstrates graphically that in rural areas the proportion of women who are widowed, separated, and divorced is at least twice as high in most countries as the proportion of men in these categories, and in urban areas it is usually more than three times as high.

Linked to the information in chapter 3 (see table 3.12), which showed substantially greater numbers of older women than older men residing in urban areas, these data lead to the hypothesis that in some cases, the older urban women are the widowed, separated, and divorced who either remain in or migrate to the cities because of greater economic opportunity. In one study (Macisco, 1975, p. 65), nearly one-fourth of women 35 years of age and over migrated to Lima without husbands but with one or more children, while only 6 percent of men in the same age group migrated without wives but with children. Many of the women among those in broken marital unions are, of course, not in the older age group but are younger women left with full responsibility for their children. Many of the older women also are heads of households that may include not only their own children, but their grandchildren as well. In the Caribbean, Massiah (1982, pp. 66-67) has demonstrated from available evidence that the widowed group is far more important than the divorced or legally separated among household heads.

In most countries, the proportion in both legal and consensual unions is higher in rural than urban areas, and in some countries it is substantially higher. In comparing the consensual versus the legal marriages, there are some general patterns. The consensually married outnumber the legally married only in Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama. In the rural areas, this is also true for Cuba and the Dominican Republic, while in El Salvador married women are about equally divided between legal and consensual unions in both rural and urban areas.

In the Caribbean, legal marriage often is attained by women only in their mature years, usually after 40 years of age and after one or two unofficial unions.[8] This tendency, although little noted in the literature, also is common to all the countries in South and Central America for which there are data. The percentage of married women in legal unions rises with age, while the consensual unions fall (figure 6.3). While the pattern is not so accentuated in Latin countries as in the Afro-Caribbean, it is nevertheless notable, indicating that legal marriage also is an important status marker in Spanish-speaking countries. The chart also illustrates again the predominance of legal over consensual unions in most countries. Even for those countries where overall there are more women in consensual than legal unions (Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama), the disaggregation by age shows that this does not continue to hold true for women over 40 years of age.

Women who are single are important to note. Among the younger women, the numbers single indicate those who are not so continually at risk of pregnancy as their married counterparts. In Latin America and the Caribbean, single women represented roughly one-fourth to two-fifths of the population over age 15 years in most countries. This is a large proportion in comparison to other world regions. In every country, the proportion of single women in urban areas is substantially greater than that in rural areas, while the overall proportions single among men in the two areas are more nearly equal.

Although the percent single in all countries (tables 6.6 and 6.7) has diminished considerably by age 45 to 49 years from the higher proportions single at age 20 to 24 years, the differences in percent single between rural and urban areas are still substantial at the older ages, with higher proportions of city women remaining single in all cases (figure 6.4). It is important to emphasize that these are the nominally single; that is, some of the women who report themselves as never married may be living in unreported sexual partnerships.

Among young men (ages 20 to 24 years), there are higher proportions single in the cities in most countries just as among young women, but in the older age group (45 to 49 years) the countries are about equally divided between those with higher proportions single in rural areas and those with higher proportions single in the cities (table 6.7).

Marital status among 15 to 19 year old women merits special attention, since the literature demonstrates that substantial numbers of women in this age group migrate from the rural areas to the towns and cities. As noted in chapter 3, in every Latin American country, women outnumber men in the migrant streams. In some cases, young women find it easier than young men to find jobs, for example, as domestic servants or street vendors. The great majority of women in this age group are still nominally single and live in the urban sector. Figure 6.5 shows, separately for women and men, the number of single persons ages 15 to 19 years in urban areas for each 100 rural persons in the same category.

Data on Households

Median size of households in Latin American and Caribbean countries ranges from a low of 3.5 in Argentina to a high of 5.3 in Venezuela (table 6.8). In most countries, as illustrated in figure 6.6, rural households are slightly larger than urban households, with more substantial differences in Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Paraguay. In Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, and Peru, the size of urban households exceeds the rural, but by only a small margin.

Table 6.9 documents women-headed households. These data suggest, as does the literature generally, that women-headed households are more predominant in the Caribbean than in other regions, with about one-third headed by women in Jamaica. Countries with around one-fifth of households headed by women include El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama in Middle America; Guyana, Peru, and Venezuela in South America; and Cuba in the Caribbean. The remaining countries for which information is available register a smaller proportion of households headed by women.

The definitive work on female headship in the Caribbean has come from the Women in the Caribbean project (Massiah, 1982); for the region as a whole, about 32 percent of household heads are women, with the highest proportion, 47 percent, registered for St. Christopher. Of the 14 Commonwealth Caribbean territories, 8 record proportions of more than 40 percent female heads; countries that have a significantly large black population record higher proportions, in comparison to Trinidad and Guyana with their East Indian components.

It is important to underscore again that women need not be without male partners to assume headship of their households. In the Caribbean, as Massiah's analysis (1982, table 3, p. 106) shows, 33 percent of female heads of household were in married unions in 1970, followed by women not living with their husbands (22 percent); women not living with their common-law partners (20 percent); and women in common-law unions (15 percent). Female heads in visiting unions totaled only 5 percent. These percentages show that in 53 percent of the cases, women acknowledged as heads of household were living with a male partner or in a visiting arrangement. In general, Massiah's analysis emphasizes the disadvantaged position of female household heads: women heads score lower than men on educational attainment (ibid., p. 73), are less apt to be in the labor force and more apt to be unemployed (ibid., pp. 75-76), and are much more likely to be in service occupations than in agricultural or industrial production.

In other parts of the region, data on female headship are scanty and most come from surveys rather than census sources, as already noted. In Hispanic America, the proportion of women heads living without partners probably is greater than in the Caribbean, although little data are available. There are not many studies comparing the status of women who are household heads to the status of women who live as wives of male heads; S. Brown's study (1977, p. 331) in the Dominican Republic shows that, in fact, the "constellation of features associated with the multiple-partner pattern rather than a formal marriage relationship allows for greater flexibility in making the most of a woman's limited resources."

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[a] In Jamaica, the proportion of women married at all ages was somewhat higher in 1970 than in 1960, and about one-half of women in unions in Jamaica are, in fact, legally married (Roberts and Sinclair, 1978, table I.I, p. 3). By their forties, most women expect to be married (Smith, 1957, p. xviii). In Haiti, says Herskovits (1971, p. 108), a man and woman may live together consensually for 10 or 15 years or more before they have amassed the necessary money to pay for a legal marriage, and their children and even their grandchildren may act as attendants. In the Barbadian community studied by Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow (1977), only 15 percent of women between the ages of 15 and 24 were legally married; after age 40 years, 70 percent were in legal unions, and only 2 percent in consensual unions.

An interesting link between the female-headed household and household size is provided in the research by Tienda (1980). She shows that while women-headed households tend to have more members, this does not necessarily result in a reduction in standard of living because women call on the extended kinship system, either by increasing the number of adult members who generate income, or by sending children out to work (ibid., pp. 650-651). Women also incorporate more of their kin into their households than do male heads (Tienda and Salazar, 1982). Youssef (1983, pp. 13-14) discusses age and marital status of women household heads, as well as the size of the household and the age composition of its members as important in any discussion of female headship. She points out that the age of adult members, including age of the woman head, is important in determining which members have income-earning potential and in calculating dependency ratios.

Figure 6.1. Age by Which 50 and 75 Percent of Women Have Ever Been Married for Rural and Urban Areas

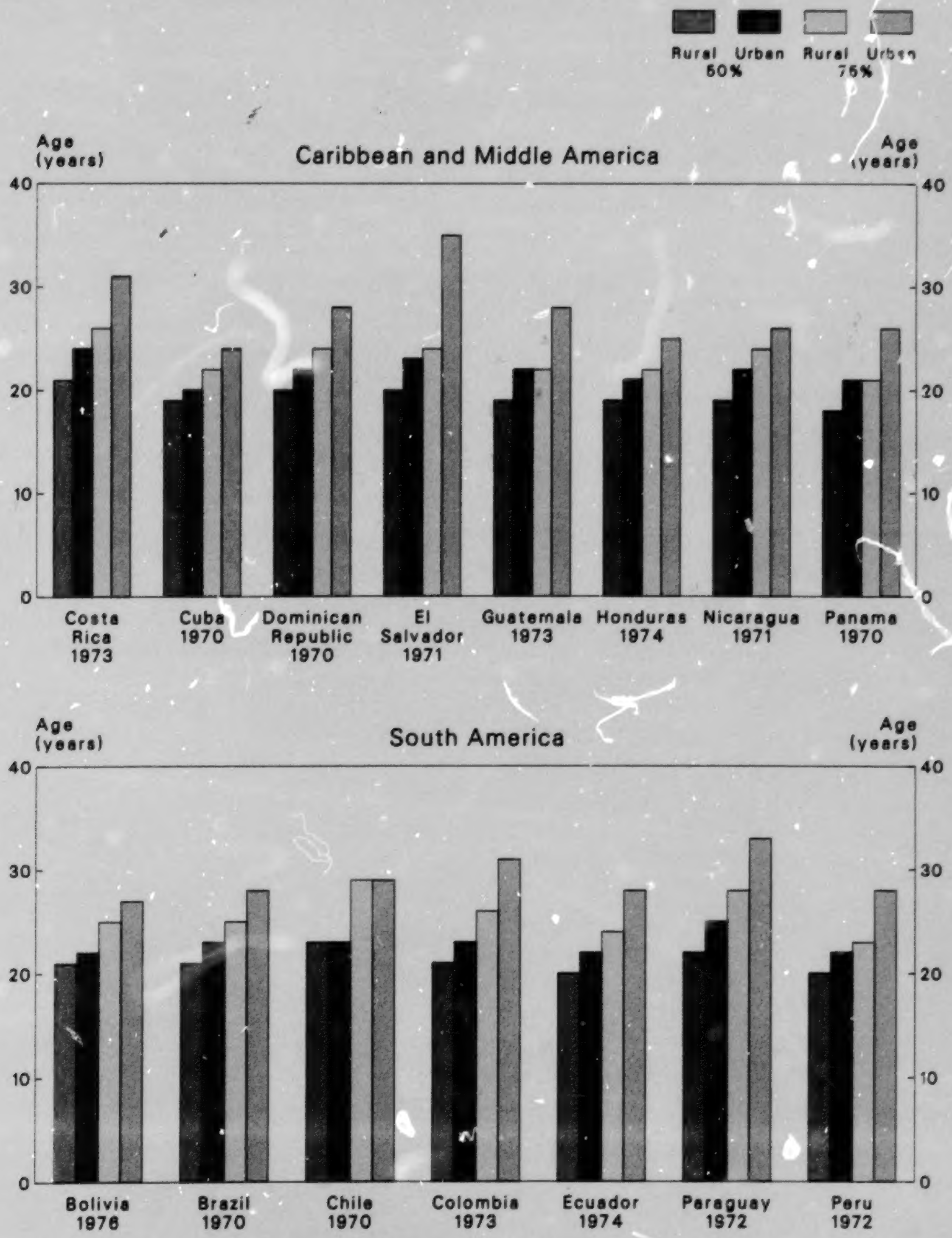
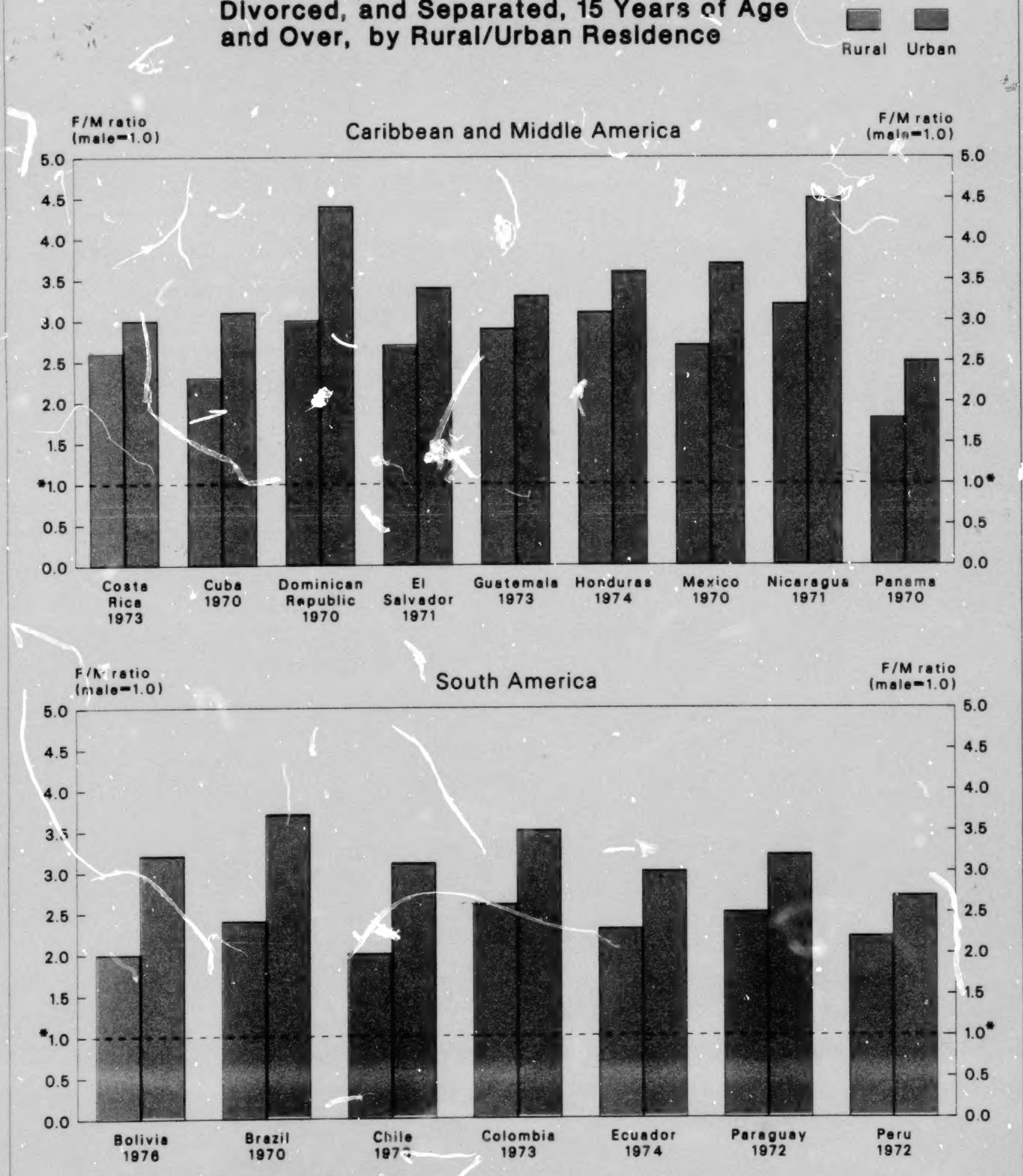


Figure 6.2. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Widowed, Divorced, and Separated, 15 Years of Age and Over, by Rural/Urban Residence



* Female percent equals male percent.

Note: See footnotes to table 6.4 and 6.5 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 6.3. Proportion of Married Women in Consensual and Legal Unions, for Two Age Groups

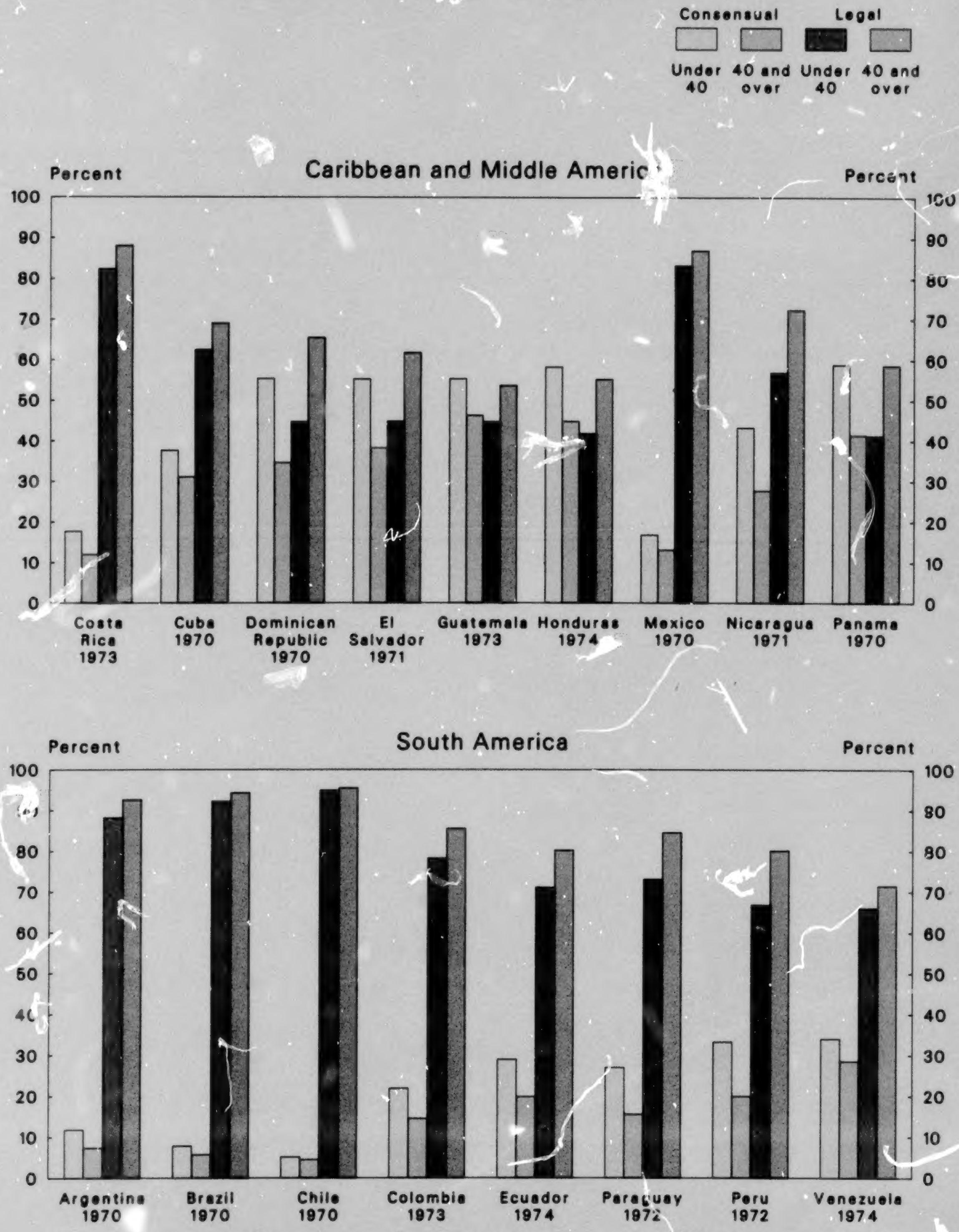


Figure 6.4. Percent Single Among Women in Two Age Groups, by Rural/Urban Residence

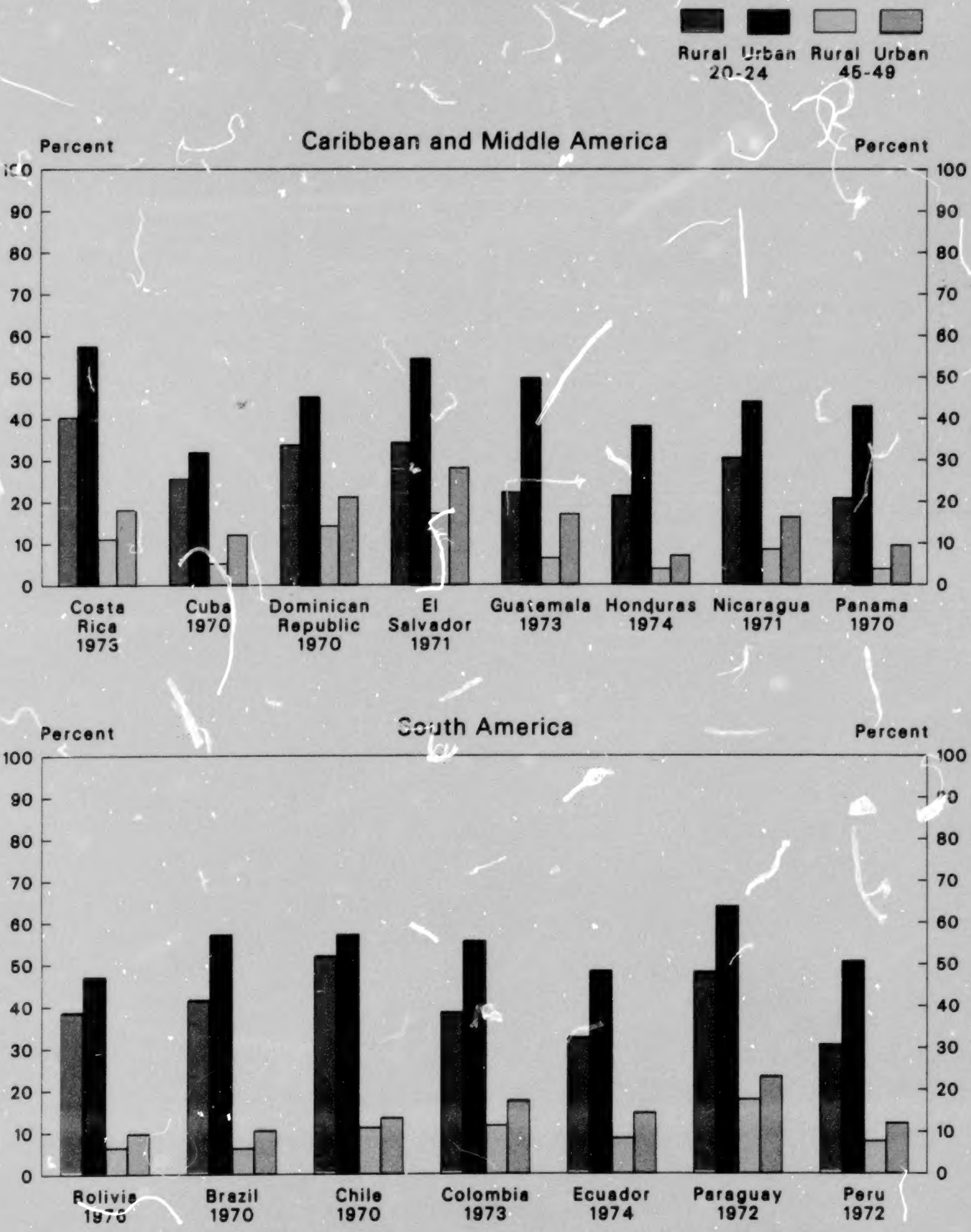
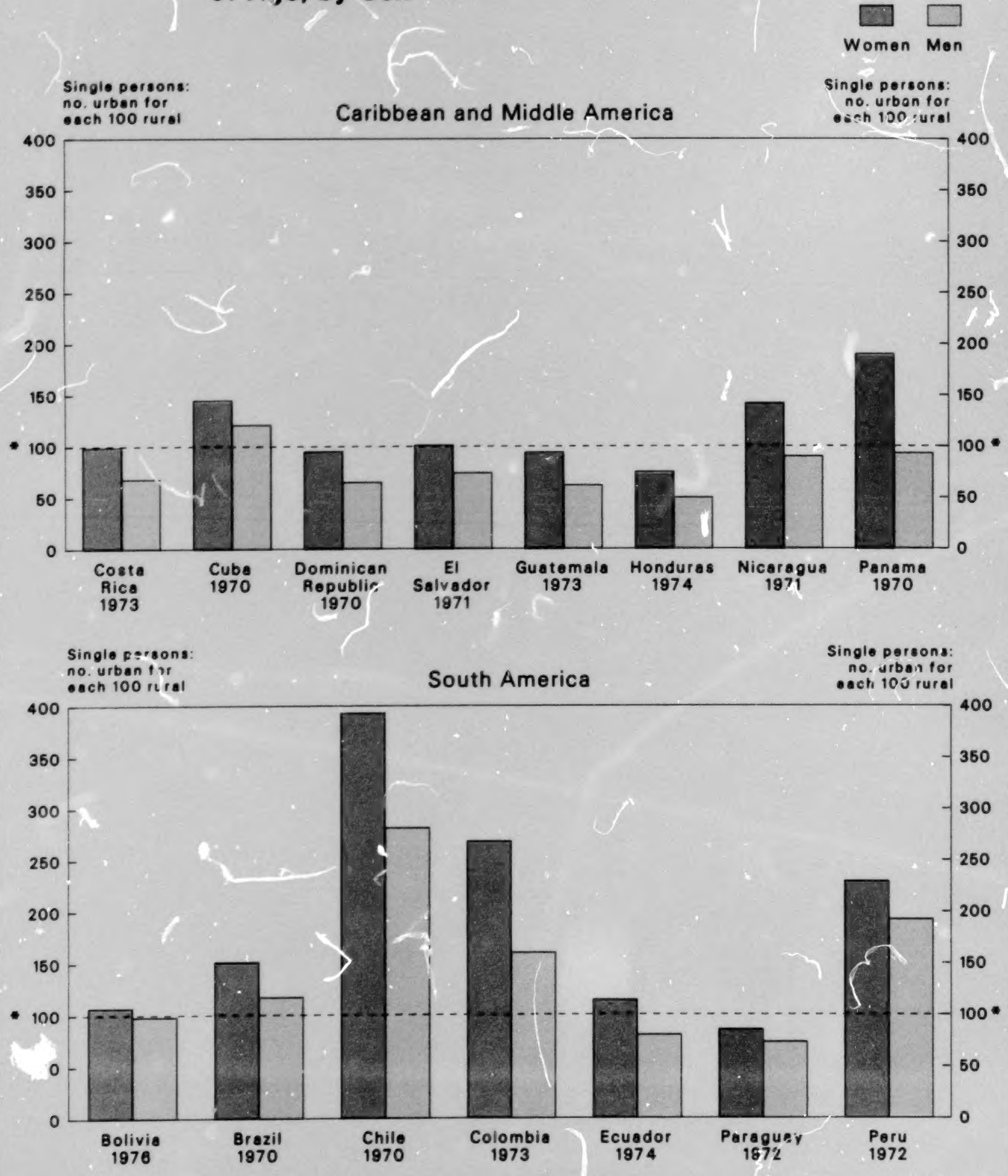


Figure 6.5. Urban/Rural Ratio of Single Persons 15 to 19 Years of Age, by Sex



*Urban singles equal rural singles.

Figure 6.6. Median Number of Persons per Household, by Rural/Urban Residence

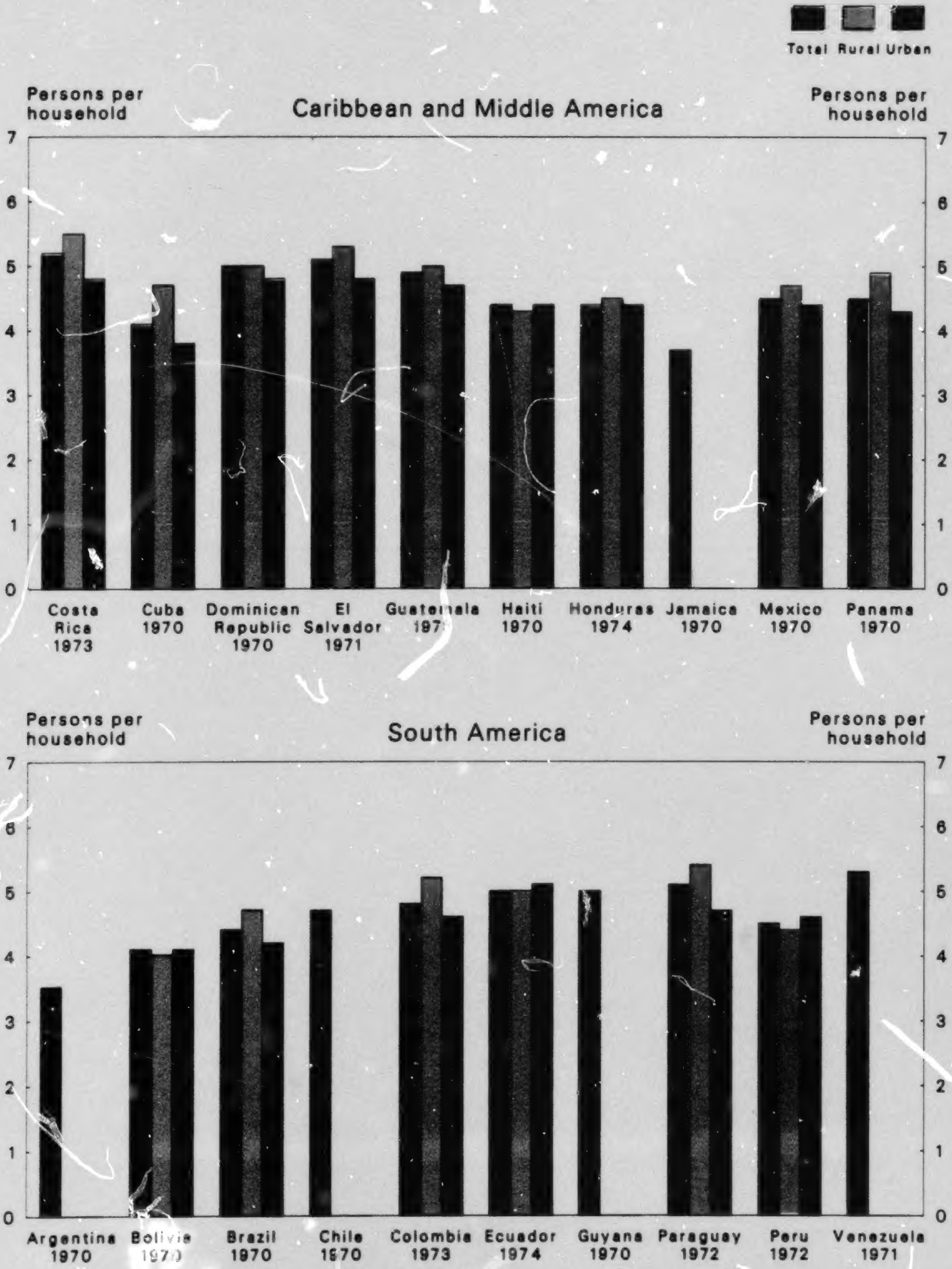


Table 6.1. Minimum Legal Age at Marriage for Women and Men

Region and country	Women	Men	Region and country	Women	Men
CARIBBEAN			SOUTH AMERICA		
Cuba................	14	16	Argentina...........	14	16
Dominican Republic..	15	16	Bolivia.............	12	14
Jamaica.............	16	16	Brazil..............	16	18
MIDDLE AMERICA			Chile...............	12	14
			Colombia............	18	18
Costa Rica..........	15	15	Ecuador.............	12	14
El Salvador.........	14	16			
Guatemala...........	14	16	Guyana..............	14	16
Honduras............	12	14	Paraguay............	12	14
Mexico..............	18	18	Peru................	14	16
Nicaragua...........	14	15			
Panama..............	12	14	Venezuela...........	12	14

Note: Data on minimum legal marital ages represent the most recently compiled information.

Table 6.2. Age by Which 50 Percent of Women and Men Have Ever Been Married, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total		Rural		Urban	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba........................	1970	20	24	19	24	20	24
Dominican Republic...........	1970	21	27	20	28	22	26
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica....................	1973	22	25	21	25	24	25
El Salvador...................	1971	21	25	20	24	23	25
Guatemala.....................	1973	20	23	19	22	22	24
Honduras......................	1974	19	23	19	23	21	24
Mexico........................	1970	21	24	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Nicaragua.....................	1971	21	24	19	24	22	24
Panama........................	1970	20	25	18	24	21	25
SOUTH AMERICA							
Argentina.....................	1970	23	26	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Bolivia.......................	1976	21	24	21	23	22	24
Brazil........................	1970	22	25	21	25	23	26
Chile.........................	1970	23	25	23	27	23	25
Colombia......................	1973	22	26	21	26	23	26
Ecuador.......................	1974	21	24	20	24	22	25
Guyana........................	1970	22	25	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay......................	1972	23	26	22	26	25	27
Peru..........................	1972	21	25	20	23	22	26
Venezuela.....................	1971	22	26	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Table 6.3. Percent Distribution of Population Age 15 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Legally married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Not Stated
Women								
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba......................	1970	100.0	22.0	42.6	22.8	7.0	4.8	0.8
Dominican Republic........	1970	100.0	35.2	29.9	28.4	4.7	1.8	0.0
Jamaica...................	1970	100.0	[illegible]	32.3	([1])	6.4	0.9	0.1
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica................	1973	100.0	37.1	46.0	8.5	5.4	3.0	0.0
El Salvador...............	1971	100.0	37.4	28.2	27.7	5.8	0.8	0.1
Guatemala.................	1973	100.0	28.0	30.0	33.1	7.6	1.0	0.2
Honduras..................	1974	100.0	24.0	26.3	30.[illegible]	7.3	11.5	0.0
Mexico....................	1970	100.0	28.2	52.0	9.5	7.4	3.0	0.0
Nicaragua.................	1971	100.0	31.6	34.8	21.7	8.1	3.2	0.7
Panama....................	1970	100.0	24.9	27.1	30.3	6.4	10.9	0.4
SOUTH AMERICA								
Argentina.................	1970	100.0	28.2	52.6	5.5	10.2	2.0	1.4
Bolivia...................	1976	100.0	28.8	58.6	([2])	9.6	2.1	0.9
Brazil....................	1970	100.0	33.5	50.6	3.8	8.5	3.4	0.1
Chile.....................	1970	100.0	35.2	49.8	2.5	9.7	2.8	0.0
Colombia..................	1973	100.0	38.3	41.9	9.7	7.6	2.4	1.1
Ecuador...................	1974	100.0	30.8	42.9	14.7	6.6	3.5	1.6
Guyana....................	1970	100.0	37.1	51.9	([2])	9.0	1.8	0.1
Paraguay..................	1972	100.0	41.3	40.5	11.5	5.2	1.6	0.0
Peru......................	1981	100.0	31.9	43.3	13.9	7.5	2.6	0.8
Venezuela.................	1974	100.0	41.2	33.3	16.4	5.4	3.3	0.0

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 6.3. Percent Distribution of Population Age 15 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex — Continued

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Legally married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Not stated
Men								
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba	1970	100.0	34.6	39.7	20.7	2.0	2.0	0.9
Dominican Republic	1970	100.0	50.3	26.6	21.3	1.2	0.6	0.0
Jamaica	1970	100.0	[1]62.9	34.1	(1)	1.9	0.8	0.3
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica	1973	100.0	42.9	45.6	8.2	1.7	1.5	0.0
El Salvador	1971	100.0	42.3	28.7	26.7	1.9	0.3	0.1
Guatemala	1973	100.0	35.4	29.5	32.1	2.5	0.3	0.1
Honduras	1974	100.0	36.8	27.1	30.4	2.1	3.6	0.0
Mexico	1970	100.0	35.9	51.8	9.1	2.0	1.1	0.0
Nicaragua	1971	100.0	40.5	35.5	20.4	2.1	0.7	0.7
Panama	1970	100.0	38.4	26.0	27.1	2.2	5.7	0.5
SOUTH AMERICA								
Argentina	1970	100.0	35.2	53.4	5.4	2.7	1.3	2.0
Bolivia	1976	100.0	34.8	59.8	(2)	3.9	0.9	0.5
Brazil	1970	100.0	39.8	52.4	3.9	2.1	1.7	0.1
Chile	1970	100.0	39.6	53.6	2.3	3.1	1.4	0.0
Colombia	1973	100.0	44.4	42.2	8.8	2.2	1.0	1.5
Ecuador	1974	100.0	38.9	42.6	13.5	2.4	1.4	1.2
Guyana	1970	100.0	44.6	51.3	(2)	2.7	1.0	0.3
Paraguay	1972	100.0	44.7	41.9	11.1	1.6	0.8	0.0
Peru	1981	100.0	38.9	43.1	13.0	2.8	1.1	1.1
Venezuela	1974	100.0	45.1	35.3	16.9	1.2	1.5	0.0

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[1] The single category for Jamaica includes the consensually married; among women only, the consensually married are counted in a separate union status category in the census (see text).

[2] No consensual unions are shown, as no distinction is made between legally and consensually married.

Table 6.4. Percent Distribution of Rural Population Age 15 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Legally married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Not stated
Women								
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba........................	1970	100.0	20.8	34.6	37.1	4.4	2.4	0.7
Dominican Republic..........	1970	100.0	31.7	30.7	32.5	4.1	1.0	0.0
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica..................	1973	100.0	32.7	49.4	11.2	4.5	2.1	0.0
El Salvador.................	1971	100.0	31.1	31.2	31.2	5.7	0.4	0.1
Guatemala...................	1973	100.0	21.4	28.0	41.7	8.0	0.6	0.2
Honduras....................	1974	100.0	20.3	27.6	35.0	7.4	9.7	0.0
Mexico[1].....................	1970	100.0	32.6	47.9	11.8	5.8	1.9	0.0
Nicaragua...................	1971	100.0	26.5	36.1	27.6	7.3	1.8	0.7
Panama......................	1970	100.0	17.1	23.2	43.9	6.2	9.3	0.3
SOUTH AMERICA								
Bolivia.....................	1976	100.0	24.6	63.0	(2)	10.4	1.0	0.9
Brazil......................	1970	100.0	30.4	56.3	3.9	6.9	2.4	0.1
Chile.......................	1970	100.0	32.9	54.0	3.5	8.6	1.0	0.0
Colombia....................	1973	100.0	30.4	45.2	14.2	7.3	1.5	1.4
Ecuador.....................	1974	100.0	25.5	46.5	17.2	6.9	2.4	1.6
Paraguay....................	1972	100.0	37.7	43.3	12.9	4.7	1.3	0.0
Peru........................	1972	100.0	22.8	43.2	21.8	9.7	1.1	1.2

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 6.4. Percent Distribution of Rural Population Age 15 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex —Continued

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Legally married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Not stated
Men								
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba	1970	100.0	38.1	28.3	29.7	1.8	1.2	0.8
Dominican Republic	1970	100.0	51.6	25.1	21.6	1.2	0.5	0.0
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica	1973	100.0	43.2	44.0	9.7	1.7	1.3	0.0
El Salvador	1971	100.0	39.8	29.8	28.1	2.1	0.2	0.1
Guatemala	1973	100.0	32.5	26.1	38.3	2.8	0.2	0.1
Honduras	1974	100.0	34.9	26.9	32.5	2.4	3.2	0.0
Mexico[1]	1970	100.0	42.2	44.3	10.6	2.0	0.9	0.0
Nicaragua	1971	100.0	39.8	33.3	23.2	2.3	0.5	0.9
Panama	1970	100.0	37.1	19.6	34.5	2.7	5.7	0.5
SOUTH AMERICA								
Bolivia	1976	100.0	30.2	63.6	([2])	4.9	0.7	0.6
Brazil	1970	100.0	40.1	52.4	3.5	2.4	1.5	0.1
Chile	1970	100.0	45.1	47.4	2.6	4.0	0.9	0.0
Colombia	1973	100.0	42.9	40.5	11.3	2.5	0.9	1.9
Ecuador	1974	100.0	36.3	43.1	15.3	2.9	1.2	1.2
Paraguay	1972	100.0	44.0	42.1	11.6	1.7	0.7	0.0
Peru	1972	100.0	30.4	43.0	20.6	4.2	0.7	1.1

[1] Percentages for Mexico are for 12 years of age and over.

[2] No consensual unions are shown, as no distinction is made between legally and consensually married.

Table 6.5. Percent Distribution of Urban Population Age 15 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Legally married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Not stated
Women								
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba..................	1970	100.0	22.7	46.7	15.5	8.4	6.0	0.8
Dominican Republic....	1970	100.0	39.5	29.1	23.4	5.3	2.7	0.0
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica...........	1973	100.0	41.8	42.4	5.5	6.3	4.0	0.0
El Salvador..........	1971	100.0	44.8	24.4	23.5	6.0	1.1	0.2
Guatemala............	1973	100.0	37.3	32.9	20.9	7.1	1.5	0.3
Honduras.............	1974	100.0	30.5	23.9	23.7	7.3	14.6	0.0
Mexico[1].............	1970	100.0	39.4	44.3	6.3	6.9	3.1	0.0
Nicaragua............	1971	100.0	35.9	33.7	16.6	8.7	4.4	0.6
Panama...............	1970	100.0	31.2	30.3	19.3	6.5	12.3	0.5
SOUTH AMERICA								
Bolivia..............	1976	100.0	34.1	52.9	(2)	8.6	3.4	0.9
Brazil...............	1970	100.0	35.4	47.0	3.8	9.5	4.1	0.1
Chile................	1970	100.0	35.7	48.8	2.3	9.9	3.3	0.0
Colombia.............	1973	100.0	42.1	38.9	7.5	7.7	2.9	1.0
Ecuador..............	1974	100.0	37.1	38.6	11.7	6.1	4.8	1.5
Paraguay.............	1972	100.0	45.8	36.8	9.7	5.7	2.0	0.0
Peru.................	1972	100.0	35.3	41.3	12.0	7.4	2.6	1.5

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 6.5. Percent Distribution of Urban Population Age 15 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex — Continued

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Legally married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Not stated
Men								
CARIBBEAN								
Cuba..................	1970	100.0	32.4	47.0	14.9	2.1	2.6	1.0
Dominican Republic....	1970	100.0	48.3	29.0	20.9	1.0	0.8	0.0
MIDDLE AMERICA								
Costa Rica...........	1973	100.0	42.5	47.9	6.2	1.7	1.7	0.0
El Salvador..........	1971	100.0	46.1	27.1	24.7	1.6	0.5	0.1
Guatemala............	1973	100.0	40.2	35.4	21.6	2.1	0.5	0.2
Honduras.............	1974	100.0	40.7	27.5	25.9	1.6	4.4	0.0
Mexico[1].............	1970	100.0	45.6	45.6	6.1	1.6	1.1	0.0
Nicaragua............	1971	100.0	41.4	38.1	17.0	1.9	1.0	0.5
Panama...............	1970	100.0	39.9	33.0	19.2	1.8	5.6	0.6
SOUTH AMERICA								
Bolivia..............	1976	100.0	41.1	54.7	([2])	2.5	1.2	0.5
Brazil...............	1970	100.0	39.7	52.4	4.1	1.9	1.8	0.2
Chile................	1970	100.0	37.6	55.8	2.3	2.8	1.5	0.0
Colombia.............	197[illegible]	100.0	45.4	43.3	7.1	1.9	1.1	1.2
Ecuador..............	1974	100.0	42.5	41.8	11.0	1.9	1.7	1.2
Paraguay.............	1972	100.0	45.9	41.5	10.2	1.5	0.9	0.0
Peru.................	1972	100.0	42.6	41.2	11.2	2.5	1.2	1.3

[1] Percentages for Mexico are for 12 years of age and over.

[2] No consensual unions are shown, as no distinction is made between legally and consensually married.

Table 6.6. Percent Single Among Women and Men Age 20 to 24 Years and 45 to 49 Years

Region and country	Year	Women		Men	
		20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba........................	1973	29.4	10.0	61.8	14.7
Dominican Republic..........	1970	39.2	17.3	75.8	23.5
Jamaica.....................	1970	88.2	37.7	95.3	40.7
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica..................	1973	48.7	14.6	70.8	10.3
El Salvador.................	1971	43.7	22.3	67.3	14.5
Guatemala...................	1973	32.8	10.8	54.6	8.0
Honduras....................	1974	28.0	4.9	58.7	6.1
Mexico......................	1970	38.4	7.1	61.2	6.4
Nicaragua...................	1971	37.7	12.6	63.3	10.0
Panama......................	1970	33.4	6.9	65.7	12.2
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina...................	1970	55.0	10.9	76.9	12.7
Bolivia.....................	1976	42.6	7.6	60.4	5.8
Brazil......................	1970	50.8	8.8	75.0	7.0
Chile.......................	1970	56.0	12.8	73.5	11.6
Colombia....................	1973	50.3	15.3	73.[illegible]	12.1
Ecuador.....................	1974	40.0	11.0	65.0	9.8
Paraguay....................	1972	54.9	19.9	79.7	11.3
Peru........................	1981	48.9	8.5	72.1	7.5
Venezuela...................	1974	51.6	[1]22.7	74.7	[1]12.1

[1] Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.

Table 6.7. Percent Single Among Women and Men Age 20 to 24 Years and 45 to 49 Years, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Rural				Urban			
		Women		Men		Women		Men	
		20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba	1970	25.6	5.2	64.9	14.2	31.9	12.1	59.5	14.9
Dominican Republic	1970	33.7	14.2	75.6	26.5	45.3	21.2	76.0	18.6
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica	1973	40.4	11.1	69.5	11.2	57.5	18.1	72.7	9.2
El Salvador	1971	34.3	17.2	64.1	12.9	54.4	28.2	71.5	16.9
Guatemala	1973	22.2	6.4	47.9	6.8	47.8	17.0	65.6	10.1
Honduras	1974	21.4	3.8	55.6	5.6	38.2	7.0	64.3	7.2
Nicaragua	1971	30.5	8.5	62.0	10.1	44.1	16.3	64.7	9.9
Panama	1970	20.8	3.8	63.9	11.2	43.0	9.5	67.5	13.3
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia	1976	38.5	6.3	54.0	5.7	46.9	9.6	67.0	6.0
Brazil	1970	41.4	6.1	70.3	7.4	57.0	10.3	78.6	6.6
Chile	1970	51.8	11.0	80.7	17.6	57.0	13.3	71.2	9.4
Colombia	1973	38.4	11.5	72.0	12.4	55.4	17.3	74.6	11.9
Ecuador	1974	32.2	8.4	61.0	9.6	48.2	14.4	70.0	10.1
Paraguay	1972	47.8	17.6	78.7	11.7	63.7	23.0	81.4	10.6
Peru	1972	30.4	7.7	53.6	6.9	50.5	12.0	74.1	9.6

Table 6.8. Median Number of Persons per Household, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total	Rural	Urban
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba	1970	4.1	4.7	3.8
Dominican Republic	1970	5.0	5.0	4.8
Haiti	1970	4.4	4.3	4.4
Jamaica	1970	3.7	(NA)	(NA)
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica	1973	5.2	5.5	4.8
El Salvador	1971	5.1	5.3	4.8
Guatemala	1973	4.9	5.0	4.7
Honduras	1974	4.4	4.5	4.4
Mexico	1970	4.5	4.7	4.4
Nicaragua[1]	1971	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Panama	1970	4.5	4.9	4.3
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	1970	3.5	(NA)	(NA)
Bolivia	1976	4.1	4.0	4.1
Brazil	1970	4.4	4.7	4.2
Chile	1970	4.7	(NA)	(NA)
Colombia	1973	4.8	5.2	4.6
Ecuador	1974	5.0	5.0	5.1
Guyana	1970	5.0	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay	1972	5.1	5.4	4.7
Peru	1972	4.5	4.4	4.6
Venezuela	1971	5.3	(NA)	(NA)

[1] Median number of persons per household not available for Nicaragua. The average household size in 1971 was 5.9 persons in the total country, 6.1 persons in rural areas, and 5.7 persons in urban areas.

Table 6.9. Selected Household Characteristics

(Numbers in thousands. Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and Country	Total households				Percent distribution of female heads, by age				
	Year	Number	Percent with female heads	F/M ratio of household heads	Total, age 15 years and over	15 to 29 years	30 to 44 years	45 to 59 years	60 years and over
CARIBBEAN									
Cuba	1970	1,908	18.3	0.22	100.0	12.6	27.3	29.0	31.1
Jamaica	1971	420	33.8	0.51	[1]100.0	[1]18.5	24.7	27.4	29.4
MIDDLE AMERICA									
Costa Rica[2]	1973	331	16.4	0.20	100.0	4.3	34.8	41.5	19.5
El Salvador	1971	657	21.5	0.27	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Guatemala	1973	998	15.0	0.18	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Honduras	1974	463	21.6	0.28	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Panama	1970	276	20.6	0.26	[3]100.0	[3]16.0	29.6	30.6	23.8
SOUTH AMERICA									
Argentina	1970	6,056	16.5	0.20	100.0	6.7	21.2	33.3	38.2
Brazil	1970	18,554	13.0	0.15	100.0	12.3	27.7	33.1	27.7
Guyana	1970	130	22.4	0.29	100.0	12.1	27.7	32.6	27.7
Peru	1972	2,772	22.5	0.29	[3]100.0	[3]19.2	30.3	26.4	24.1
Venezuela	1971	1,839	19.7	0.25	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1] Includes persons 14 years of age.

[2] Age groups for Costa Rica are: 15 to 24 years; 25 to 44 years; 45 to 64 years; and 65 years and over.

[3] Includes persons under 15 years of age.

Chapter 7

Fertility and Mortality

As chapter 6 has explored, motherhood is an important and positive status marker for most of the world's women, whether or not they achieve it in stable unions with male partners. Women's fertility has an importance not only because of its effects on overall rates of population growth and as an indicator of a society's level of development, but also because it has a direct bearing on the individual woman's position in society. Human fertility, as well as the ability to control it, also is crucial because of its impact on a woman's opportunity to form a relationship with a male partner and establish a household, to gain access to education and training, and to work in paid employment.

In the same way, mortality rates have a meaning in women's lives beyond their implications for overall population growth, decline and change, and as important indicators of a society's socioeconomic progress (United Nations, 1982b, p. 1).[1] Declining rates of infant and child mortality, for example, may mean that women will be more motivated to accept family planning than when they had to bear many children in order to see some grow to adulthood. At the same time, growing proportions of older women in a society result in either higher dependency burdens for those of working ages or a situation where many older women alone have no one on whom to depend but themselves.

In Latin America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere, fertility is in itself an important ingredient in women's status and closely tied to their own feelings of self-worth. In particular, the bearing of sons confers prestige. In Latin America, the ability of a woman to bear children still strongly influences society's view of her, as well as her own self-image. In the Caribbean, too, women value their fertility, and women who do not conceive a child by the time they are 18 or 19 years of age are popularly termed "mules." In Jamaica, for example, for young women after primary school, "a major route to self-affirmation as a potential adult, and to status in the peer group is through pregnancy" (Brody, 1981, p. 96). Many other studies confirm these trends.

The role of wife and mother nevertheless confers within the domestic domain a measure of power and influence that women often do not find in other spheres of activity. The position of legal wife is an honorable estate in Latin America, and the cultural/religious ideal of a large family still is held in high esteem. Paradoxically, however, many studies now show that women of all social strata, pressured by economic realities and responding to wider opportunities for women, desire to limit their family size so they can educate themselves and work outside the home. Even in the upper classes, it now is considered acceptable for a woman to earn money in what is thought of as a feminine profession, or as a businesswoman, perhaps by running an exclusive boutique in a fashionable neighborhood.

Recent studies show that the interaction between women's fertility/ childbearing responsibilities and these other activities is not as direct as once was assumed. Few would now assert that participation in education or the work force automatically results in lower fertility rates (or vice versa), even though most research does show an inverse relationship between family size and women's particiption in education and productive work. While female schooling and labor force activity may be necessary conditions in lowering birth rates, they apparently are not sufficient in themselves to do so. Other variables are now recognized as intervening in the relationship between fertility and women's activities outside the home, for example, sociocultural attitudes toward motherhood, age at first union, household income, migratory status, the influence of the urban environment, and the structure of the national economy.

The type of work that women do is related to whether or not they are influenced to limit their family size. Work in the rural areas, whether in agriculture or home industries, and in the informal labor sector in the cities, may be flexible enough to permit a woman to combine childbearing/rearing and productive work without much conflict, and thus she may not feel constrained to limit her family size. In the rural areas, children are often minded by older siblings, kin, or neighbors when their mothers go to the fields; moreover, rural children often are perceived as "born with their bread in their hands," since they are able to engage in productive work themselves from an early age. An intriguing discussion of issues related to women and fertility in rural areas is by Youssef (1982).

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[1] There are indications, however, that Latin America and the Caribbean, in contrast to other world regions, probably have achieved rapid declines in mortality largely through improvements in public health and medical technology, "exported" by international agencies, in the absence in many countries of social and economic progress (United Nations, 1982b, p. 145).

In the towns and cities, the view of children in neo-classical economic terms as "economic goods" has assumed that women would lower their fertility when it became evident that the opportunity costs of children were high in comparison to alternative uses of time; if income-generating activities brought more economic rewards, then childbearing and other domestic activities would be diminished through lowered fertility. However, as Standing (1978, p. 167) points out, the situation is ambiguous: higher household income might increase fertility, since more children could be supported or, alternatively, child care services could be purchased. Or employment might affect child spacing rather than completed family size (Youssef, 1982, p. 175). In the absence of accessible family planning motivation, education, and technologies, fertility rates probably will remain high, whatever the opportunity cost calculations.

Standing (1978, p. 168) concludes that the inverse effects of employment on fertility probably will appear consistently only when the opportunity wages of women are high and any interruption of economic activity is seen to lower lifetime earnings. Such conditions are found prinicipally among women who are in professional careers, and who have worked in them before marriage. In assessing the studies to date, Standing (ibid., p. 174) singles out the duration of women's employment after leaving school and after marriage (before entering childbearing) as the most important factor in lower desired and actual family size, and greater planning of fertility. Women in full-time rather than part-time jobs, and those whose mothers worked in paid employment, also have tended to have lower fertility. In Latin America, except for Argentina and Chile, the numbers of women in this category are still rather small, and their economic activity would not greatly affect overall population growth rates.

The interactions between education and fertility are also ambiguous. Before education begins to affect fertility, some minimum number of years of schooling may be necessary. Cochrane (1979, p. 42) cites various studies as evidence, suggesting completed primary, or at least 6 to 7 years. Cochrane's assessment shows some cases in which education is not inversely related to fertility, although the relation is more likely to be inverse in urban than rural areas, and in middle level rather than in extremely poor countries (ibid, pp. 50-51). In fact, indications are that small amounts of education and/or literacy may be associated with higher fertility, although there are little reliable data (ibid., p. 51).

On the other hand, educated women as a group desire fewer children, and they are able to achieve their desired family size with fewer births because infant and child mortality are lower in educated families. At the same time, these negative effects of education on fertility may be offset by educated women's better health (and ability to conceive), linked to their tendency to abandon traditional practices such as prolonged lactation and postpartum abstinence which tend to suppress conception. Educated men also may perceive that they are able to afford more children (ibid.).

Age at first union is an important variable that interacts with fertility as well as education and work variables. Cochrane (1979, pp. 146-148) concludes that the most important effect of education on fertility may be the resulting later age at marriage. Nortman (1982, p. 15) notes the nearly universal inverse relationship between age at marriage (whatever its legal type) and completed family size. Legal age at marriage, as noted in chapter 4, is somewhat lower, on the whole, for Latin America and the Caribbean than for other world regions, but legalities have little relation to the actual age at which women enter some type of union status. In Europe and Japan during the first half of this century, and recently in a number of Asian countries, older age at marriage has had an important effect in limiting populaton growth (Population Reports, 1979b, p. 1). Later age at first union means a shorter period of reproductive life for women, less exposure to pregnancy, and a longer interval between generations. If women delay entering a marital union, they may stay in school longer, acquire skills to earn income, work before marriage, and acquire more physical and emotional maturity. Age at marriage is increasing in some Asian countries, but not changing very much in Latin America (ibid.).

The chief issue in mortality rates, so far as women's status is concerned, is the nearly universal differential observed between women and men in mortality rates and life expectancy levels. After age, sex usually is the most important factor in explaining the variations in both indexes. As countries develop and the access to medical and health facilities broadens, the differential in favor of women in female/male death rates usually becomes greater as the overall death rates decline. At the same time, the higher the overall life expectancy in a society, again the greater is the advantage of women over men. Whenever individual country rates deviate from these worldwide trends, then one may ask if the differences might be due to women's disadvantaged status in that particular country.

The difficulty is that here, too, as with fertility rates, other variables may intervene to influence the results, and thus any deviations from the norm quite possibly can be attributed to factors other than age and sex such as wars and migrations, unequal caloric intake and access to health services, educational and occupational differences, ethnic and racial make-up, and marital status. Some of these intervening variables may, of course, be sex-biased. The admitted ambiguities in interpreting fertility and mortality rates and their effects on women's lives and activities mean that any correlations between fertility or mortality and other status-of-women variables must be interpreted with caution. The literature reports few one-to-one statistically significant associations between fertility or mortality and other status-of-women variables.

Data Availability and Quality

The WID Data Base gives several measures of women's fertility in Latin America and the Caribbean, based on data from a variety of sources. So far as overall quality of data on both fertility and mortality is concerned, there is general consensus that information and statistics in Latin America and the Caribbean are the most reliable of all the regions (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a, p. 3; United Nations, 1982b, p. 144). Census Bureau (1983a) calculations show that in South America, nearly 95 percent of the population is found in countries with reliable fertility data; for the Caribbean, the proportion is about 50 percent (mainly because of the exclusion of the English-speaking Eastern Caribbean islands which have good data, but were excluded from the WID Data Base because of size).

For death rates, techniques devised by Brass (1975) and others permit a number of fairly accurate estimates to be made, even though the data are incomplete or defective in other ways (see discussion in United Nations, 1982b, p. 170ff). Many of these techniques, however, can be applied only to the years surrounding censuses or other national surveys which produce the complementary statistics on the enumerated population by age and sex.

All direct fertility measures are derived from the absolute number of births in each calendar year that occur in a specific region, country, or population category. To make such raw statistics more meaningful, several mathematical refinements are performed, yielding crude birth rates (CBR) per 1,000 persons in the population; annual rates of childbearing among each 1,000 women aged 15 to 49 years in successive 5-year age groups or age-specific fertility rates (ASFR); the sum of the ASFR's in each 5-year age group, multiplied by 5 yielding the total fertility rate (TFR); the TFR multiplied by the proportion of female births in a given year which gives the gross reproduction rate (GRR) and finally, the reduction of the GRR by the estimated proportion of women dying in each age group from birth through the reproductive years yielding the net repoduction rate (NRR). Each measure is useful in its own right, since each gives fertility information from a different perspective. TFR's are more precise than crude birth rates because they narrow the focus to women in their reproductive years. Gross and net reproduction rates direct attention to the female population only and the extent to which women are likely to replace themselves over time, an important measure for determining future fertility trends or for achieving zero population growth.

A complete set of all these measures for each country would be difficult to construct, and measures comparable across countries for any given year are impossible to achieve at this time. Such sets of measures depend on vital registration statistics which often are unavailable and on the existence of complementary census data. For example, age-specific rates can be calculated only when birth statistics have been tabulated by age of mother and when the numbers of women in each reproductive age group are available from census data. Age-specific rates must be available in uniform age ranges to permit comparison across countries. To calculate NRR's, age-specific death rates must be available for the same age groups and years as age-specific fertility rates. Since comparable time series are not available across countries, it was judged that the most recent statistics would be of greatest use for this handbook, and these figures are presented in the tables. Therefore, comparisons across countries must be made with care, since the dates of the statistics vary rather widely. The data for many of these measures are missing, particularly for rural and urban areas. Because they require the largest amount of data to calculate, NRR's are the scarcest statistic and available only for 13 of the countries in the region.

Death rates and life expectancy calculations also depend primarily upon vital registration information and complementary population census data, and there are some analogous difficulties. The realities of life in poor areas of the world mean that it is not always easy to register either births or deaths, and sometimes one omission compounds the other. Births or deaths may not be recorded simply because the municipal office is too far away, or because the poor cannot afford the fees for documents, tax stamps that must be affixed, or the time to go and stand in line. If a child dies in the first week, month, or even year of life, parents may not consider it important to register either the birth or the death. Even in urban areas, where a child's death must be registered in order for it to be buried in a cemetery, parents may get around this problem by interring infants and small children on vacant land at the outer limits of the urban slum or settlement, even though they may realize that in subsequent years, the settlement will expand on top of the graveyard. Thus, neither a child's birth nor death may be recorded.[2]

Underregistration of deaths is considerable. In Nicaragua, an estimated 53 percent of deaths of persons 5 years of age and over remain unregistered and in Paraguay, 63 percent. Underregistration is even higher for deaths of children under 5 years of age (United Nations, 1982b, p. 170). Data for rural/urban areas and for socioeconomic categories such as living standards or income, levels of nutrition, and access to medical services, are almost impossible to obtain, even though all of these variables have important bearing on death rates. Death registration is markedly incomplete also for the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Peru (ibid.), although the quality of data has improved for most countries of the region since 1970.

Historical Dimensions

Almost all sources agree that there has been a large decline in fertility in Latin America and the Caribbean over the past three decades (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a, p. 3). At the same time, very rapid declines in mortality have been experienced in the region since World War II, and several countries (Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, and probably Panama) underwent moderate declines even earlier (United Nations, 1982b, p. 144). Some countries lag behind, however, having begun their mortality transition at much later dates; these include several Central American nations, as well as Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, and Peru.

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[2] The lack of birth registration can pose many difficulties, particularly for women, in their later years. First of all, births of girls may be underreported, in comparison to births of boys. Secondly, the omission of a male child's birth is corrected when he does his military service. In Peru, for example, a man's military service card serves him in lieu of other identification documents, and he can present it in order to obtain a passport or driver's license, open a bank account, register to vote, marry, enroll in an educational institution, or for any other official or business dealing. In contrast, a woman who lacks her birth certificate must travel to the province of her birth and obtain witnesses to testify to her antecedents, since her birth certificate is necessary to perform any of the official acts mentioned above.

Most of the region's countries, regardless of their level of mortality, experienced a slower rate of mortality decline during the 1960's than the 1950's. This slowing down of the mortality decline seems to be due primarily to changing mortality patterns in adult populations, particularly among men. It should be noted, however, that the trend has not been uniform throughout the region; some nations actually displayed mortality increases during the period 1960 to 1970 (Arriaga, 1981). Nevertheless, more recent trends (after 1970) suggest that, in countries with information, mortality is resuming a rapid decline.

Decreased mortality has occurred in all parts of the region, both more and less industrialized, independent of social and economic progress. The best explanation for the declines appears to lie in new medical technologies, vaccinations and widespread use of insecticides, accounting for (depending on how the calculations are made) perhaps 50 to 80 percent of the increases in life expectancy (United Nations, 1982b, p. 145). However, medical advances can work in opposite directions insofar as fertility and mortality are concerned, making the situation difficult to assess. For example, improved prenatal care for pregnant women makes it possible for them to carry more babies to term, and may account for sharp declines in infant mortality as well because full-term babies born of healthy mothers are themselves healthier, and because women learn how to care for their babies in classes that often are part of mother-child health programs. At the same time, more widespread use of contraceptives may reduce birth rates. Thus, it is seldom easy to sort out the effects of improved medical technologies on the population growth rates.

Many of these medical and health advances have been the result not of general improvements in the economy, but of independent activities carried out by private and public development assistance agencies. A variation of the same trends may account for the dramatic declines in fertility and mortality in Cuba over the past 20 years. Also with outside assistance, Cuba put a great deal of emphasis on improving general as well as mother-child health, reaching out in particular to the rural areas and making contraceptives readily available.

Among the countries in the WID Data Base, Argentina and Chile experienced the earliest and most dramatic reductions in fertility. In more recent times, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Mexico have also experienced steep fertility declines. Notable have been Brazil's average annual decline in its TFR of 2.5 percent during the 1970's and Colombia's annual decline of 3.4 percent during 1964 to 1973 and 3.9 percent from 1973 to 1978 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a, p. 3). Except for Cuba, these declines are not yet reflected in TFR's as low as those in Argentina and Chile because of the latter two countries' head start. U.S. Census Bureau figures show, for example, that in the mid-1960's, Argentina already exhibited a low TFR of 3.00 while Colombia at that date still had a TFR of 6.74 (ibid.). Because of the large proportions of women in their reproductive years in most countries of the region, populations will continue to increase for several generations even if fertility and mortality come into balance at lower levels (this effect was shown in figure 3.1).

When gains in life expectancy come about through relatively inexpensive medical interventions, independent of economic advancement, countries may reach a stage where qualitative changes are needed to bring about further declines (United Nations, 1982b, p. 147). Today rapid gains in life expectancy in the region appear to have leveled off or, in one case, to have reversed course.[3]

Current Fertility/Mortality Indexes

Turning to an examination of current fertility and mortality, crude birth rates for Latin America and the Caribbean (table 7.1) are low in comparison to other parts of the world. Within the region, Central America registers the highest crude birth rates and Cuba and Southern Cone countries the lowest, with the Andean countries and the Caribbean (except Cuba) in the middle ranges. Figure 7.1 shows graphically the rates for the latest years available. Countries with 30 or fewer births per 1,000 include Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica, and Panama. Cuba has an exceptionally low birth rate, only 14 births per 1,000 population in 1980.

Crude birth rates are an exceptionally blunt measure because they do not take into account the age structure of the population. Countries with an older population, that is, more women in the reproductive age group, could produce more children if other factors, such as the acceptablity and availability of family planning, did not come into play. Total fertility rates, which are calculated in relation to the number of women in their reproductive years, are still relatively high in many countries for the latest years available. Average rates of six or more births per woman are found in Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, while rates almost as high are registered for the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Paraguay. Rural/urban fertility differentials for this measure are notable in the Latin American and Caribbean countries for which data are available (table 7.2 and figure 7.2). In the rural areas of El Salvador and Honduras, for example, TFR's rise to an average of over eight births per woman.

When TFR's are adjusted to yield NRR's, only Cuba, among Latin American and Caribbean countries with available estimates, is found to register 1.00, that is, in 1975-80, women in their reproductive years in Cuba had, on the avarage, only enough daughters to replace themselves in the population. Other low NRR's (for countries for which this statistic is available) are registered in Argentina and Chile.

In Cuba, as well as in Colombia and several other countries, lower fertility rates have been achieved through, among other factors, positive government attitudes towards family planning and widespread availability of contraceptive materials and education in their use. The WID Data Base does not currently provide information on contraceptive use, but recent data are readily available from other sources. The summaries of individual country policies and practices compiled by Nortman (1982) are particularly valuable. According to the latest available data, most Latin American and Caribbean governments currently support policies either to reduce fertility for demographic reasons, or to fulfill human rights and health objectives with fertility reduction as an important by-product (ibid., table 6, p. 52). Nortman's compilations single out Barbados, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Panama for their particularly well-functioning and firmly-rooted family planning programs. The only two countries among the 21 being considered here that do not support family planning activity are Chile since 1979 and Bolivia since 1976. The other countries are at varying stages of implementation of overall positive programs. World Fertility Survey data confirm that 82 percent of ever-married women in Costa Rica and 73 percent in Panama have used some contraceptive method compared to 45 and 47 percent for Mexico and the Dominican Republic (Population Reference Bureau, 1979a, p. M87).

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[3] The U.N. document cautions that rates of gain normally will slow as many preventable causes of death are controlled, but that the slowdowns in Latin America are premature. The article speculates that further gains in life expectancy may depend upon continued economic development, after the earlier gains attributable to low-cost medical technology. For example, deaths of young children have shifted from those caused by diseases easily controlled through vaccination and eradication measures, to those influenced by nutritional deficiencies and their consequences—diarrhoea, dehydration, and respiratory complications. Sustained improvement in child nutrition, in turn, is dependent upon improvements in the overall economy.

The widespread policies favoring family planning do not extend to abortion. Despite the fact that it is used as a method of fertility control, in most countries it is either illegal or tolerated only to save the mother's life (Population Reference Bureau, 1976, p. E30). There is, nevertheless, some movement towards liberalizing abortion laws in some countries (ibid., p. E32). Induced abortion probably accounts for the greatest proportion of maternal deaths and is the most frequent cause of hospital admissions among women (ibid., p. E32). While the Catholic Church has ceased to be a major factor in opposing the progress of family planning in recent times, it countinues to exert great pressure on any change in abortion laws.

An examination of fertility by mother's ages (table 7.3) shows that in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries shown, more births are contributed by women 25 to 34 years of age than by women in other age groups. Exceptions to the pattern are Jamaica, where women under 25 years of age contribute a slightly higher percentage to fertility than those 25 to 34 years old, and Cuba, where the younger women contribute 53 percent of total fertility. In Cuba, women 35 years old and over account for only 9.2 percent of total fertility, by far the lowest among the countries considered. Cuba's unique pattern probably reflects cultural factors favoring early marriage and having one's family in the first years of married life, plus the low desired family size and the ready availability of family planning so that fertility drops dramatically in the ages after 25 years. In Jamaica, a partial explanation may lie in the very young ages at which women either get pregnant or enter their first union; the phenomenon of increasing teen-age pregnancy has become an official concern there. In no country, however, does the contribution of women under 25 years of age fall below about one-quarter of the total fertility, a statistic that is the result of the universal early age at marriage and/or first pregnancy, and the tendency of women to bear several children before considering family planning. In some countries, women 35 years of age and older also contribute, as a group, up to about 25 percent of the total fertility; among these countries are Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Paraguay, and Peru. Rather than late entrance into marriage, this statistic reflects the fact that women in these countries continue to bear children over the span of their reproductive lives. This is confirmed by the fact that it is among these women that the highest TFR's are found. Rural/urban statistics for lifetime fertility, for the six countries for which data are available (table 7.4) show that younger urban women (under age 25 years) contribute more to total fertility than their rural counterparts, and that childbearing tends to taper off among women 35 years and over in the cities to a greater degree than it does in rural areas. These statistics reflect an earlier completion of childbearing among women in the cities where there is a greater availability of family planning services.

Fertility and mortality are inextricably intertwined, in that one of the key factors contributing to high mortality among disadvantaged groups in the developing world is high fertility and the close spacing of births, resulting in premature deliveries, weak and underformed infants, as well as maternal mortality as considered above (United Nations, 1982b, p. 140). In fact, in some countries of the region, women have made greater gains in life expectancy than men, partly because of the sharp reduction in women's mortality due to causes associated with pregnancy and childbirth.

As demonstrated by the statistics on life expectancy at birth (figure 7.3), it is indeed women in countries that are at a later stage in the demographic transition who may expect to live longer lives: Argentines, Costa Ricans, Cubans, and Panamanians. Conversely, in Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru, where fertility is still high, life expectancy at birth is under 60 years for women.

In 12 countries in the WID Data Base, life expectancy for women is at least 60 years. In comparison to many of the world's women, these are high levels; in East Africa, for example, women can expect to live only 49 years, and in Sub-Saharan Africa, 47 years, while in Middle South Asia and South East Asia, women may expect to live 51 years on the average (Population Reference Bureau, 1980). In only 8 of the 20 Latin American and Caribbean countries for which data are available can men expect to live at least 60 years. Table 7.5 gives the female/male ratios of life expectancy among the various countries, showing that women consistently can expect to live longer than men, although in Haiti, where life expectancy for both sexes is low, the difference is minimal.

The data on female/male life expectancies at birth and at age 1 year show that differentials in the number of years that women can expect to outlive men are greatest at birth, as is the usual pattern worldwide, and diminish by age 1. Table 7.6 depicts these differentials, as well as the gain which men achieve between the two ages.

Infant mortality rates for both girls and boys (table 7.7) are lower in Latin America than in many world regions. High overall indexes of 100 or more infants dying for each 1,000 live births are registered in Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador (but see note 1 on table 7.7), Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru. In contrast, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Jamaica register comparatively low rates of 22 infant deaths or less. The Latin American rates compare favorably to those of other world regions—in Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, the majority of infant mortality rates are over 100 per 1,000 live births, and in some countries they are over 200 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983b, p. 52). Latin American figures have not yet, however, reached the comparatively low levels of some of the East Asian countries (ibid., p. 192).

In no country of the region for which statistics are available do female infant mortality rates exceed the male rates (figure 7.4). This follows a general worldwide pattern in which male mortality generally exceeds the female levels for biological reasons, and deviations from the expected differentials between girls and boys may reflect more favorable treatment and better nutrition accorded to male babies. Care must be exercised in imputing such an association with smaller than expected differentials; nevertheless, there is some evidence that mortality declines for female infants in the Latin America and Caribbean regions have been smaller than would have prevailed had the pattern of mortality decline experienced by countries of Western Europe been followed, a phenomenon that may be partially explained by strong preference for sons in the region, and the consequent differential treatment accorded to female and male infants (United Nations, 1982b, p. 151). For countries with available data, the female advantage is smallest in Haiti and Honduras, and greatest in Panama and Guyana.

A calculation of proportions of female and male infants dying before their fifth birthday (table 7.8 and figure 7.5) reveals that the female advantage still holds, and in fact widens in a number of countries. It has been observed that in most Latin American countries, females were able to reduce mortality faster than males, particularly during the slowing down of the rate of decline in the 1960's. This widening of sex differentials has been linked to particular causes of death. Many countries have significantly reduced deaths resulting from infectious and parasitic diseases, where sex differences are minimal. As a consequence, the proportion of deaths from accidents and degenerative and renal-cardiovascular diseases has increased. These three groups of causes display large differentials between men and women (Arriaga, 1981).

Figure 7.1. Crude Birth Rates for Total Country and Rural/Urban Areas

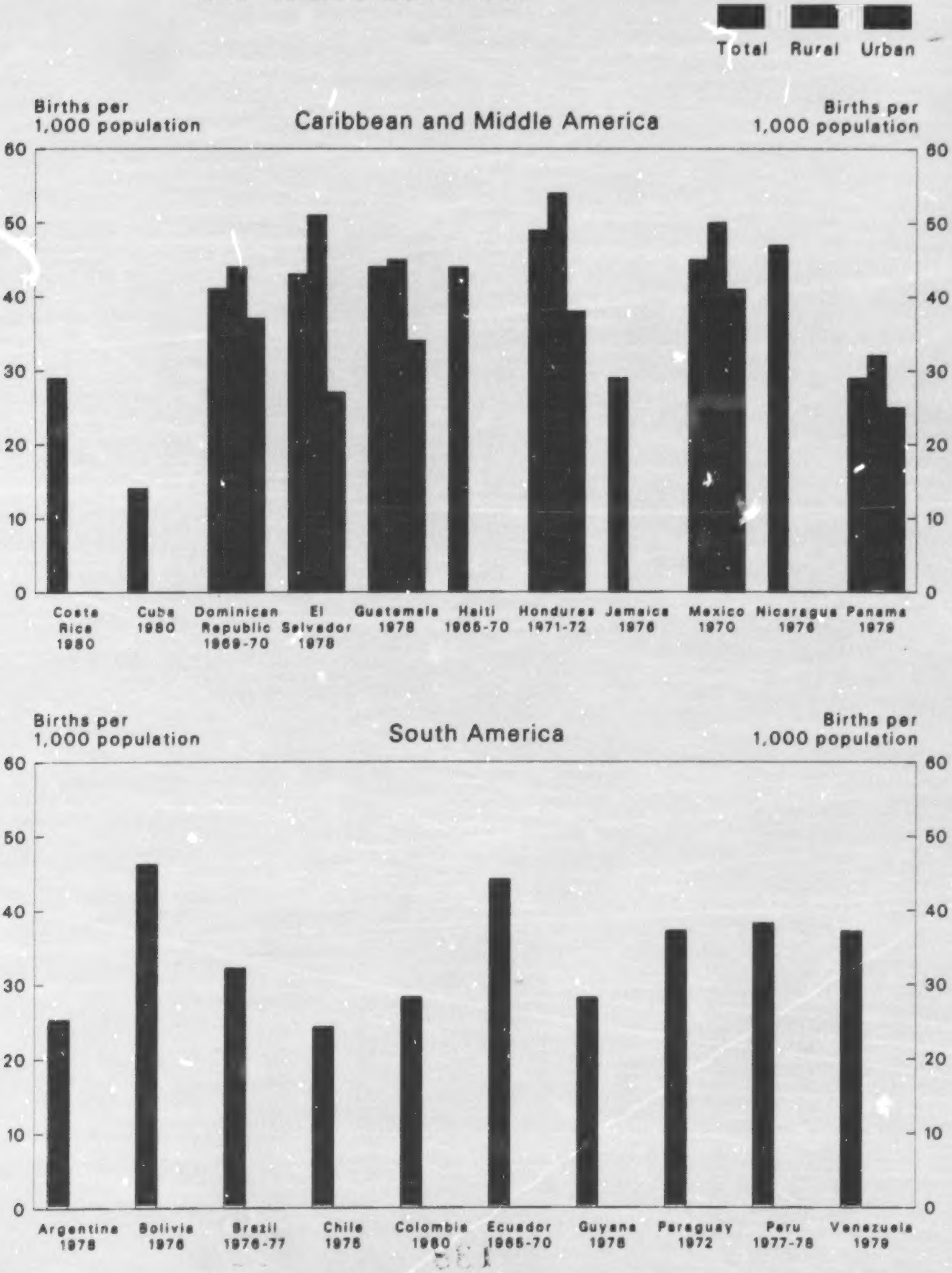

Figure 7.2. Total Fertility Rates for Total Country and Rural/Urban Areas

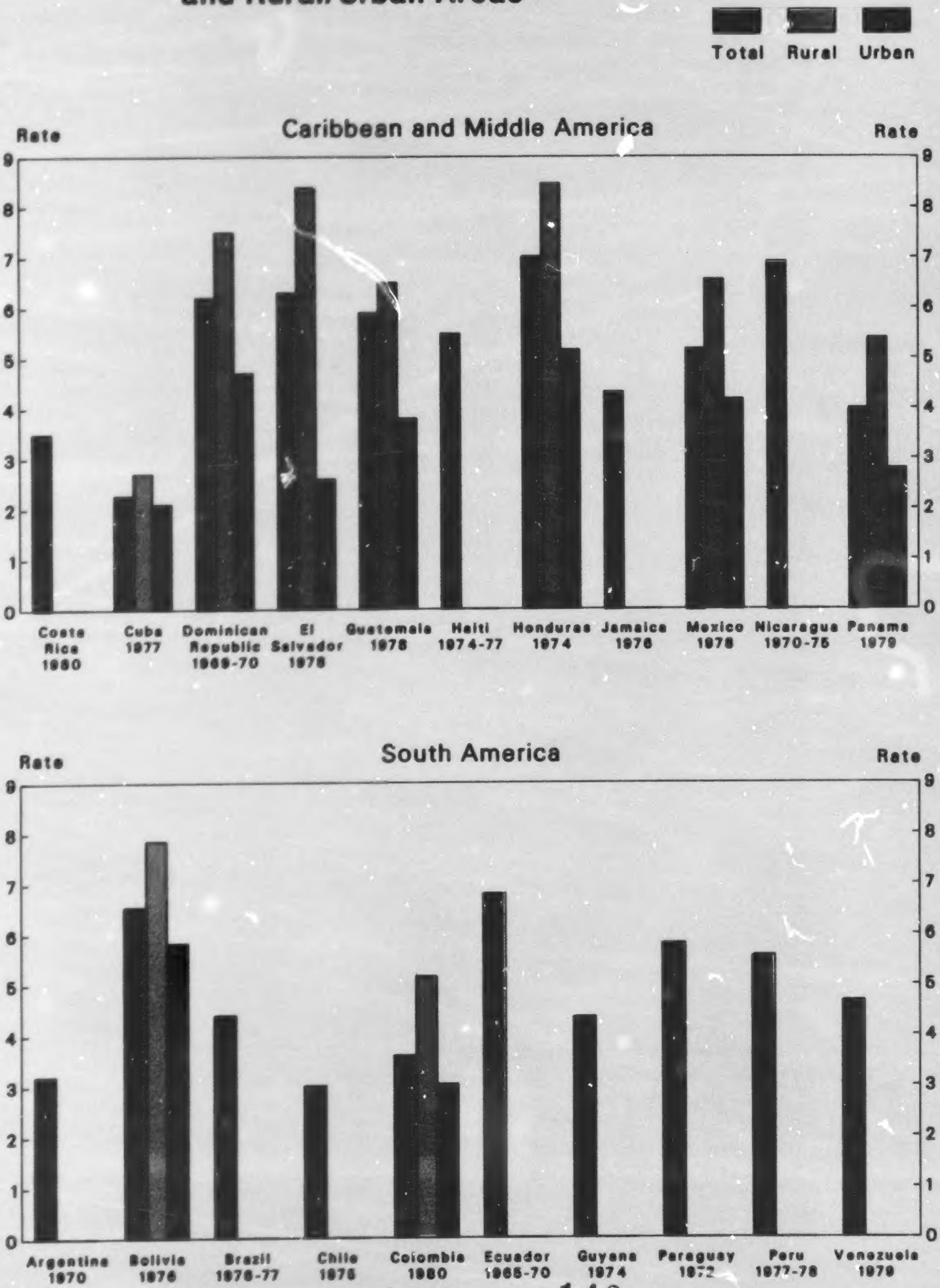

Figure 7.3. Life Expectancy at Birth for Women and Men

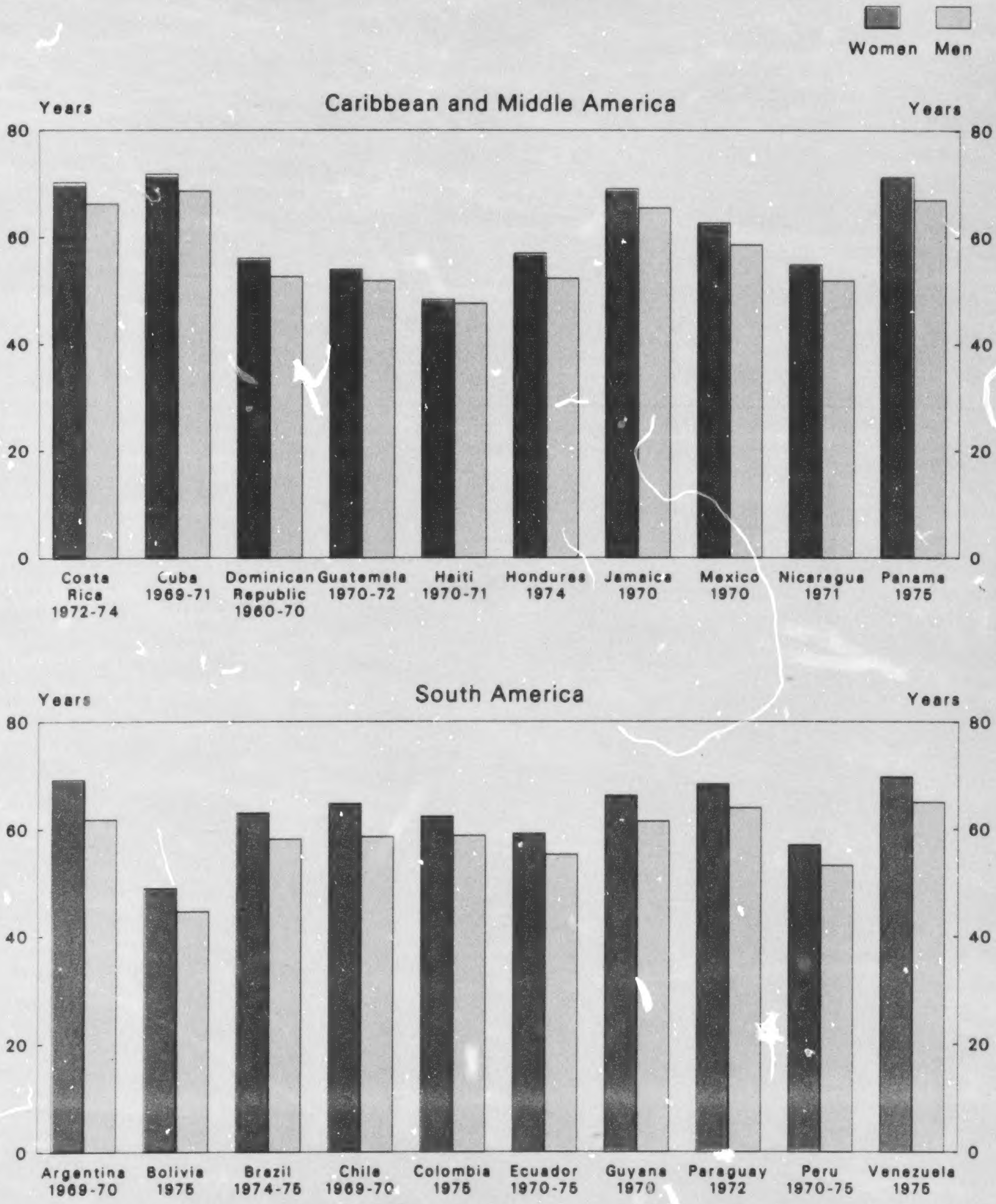

Figure 7.4. Infant Mortality Rates, by Sex

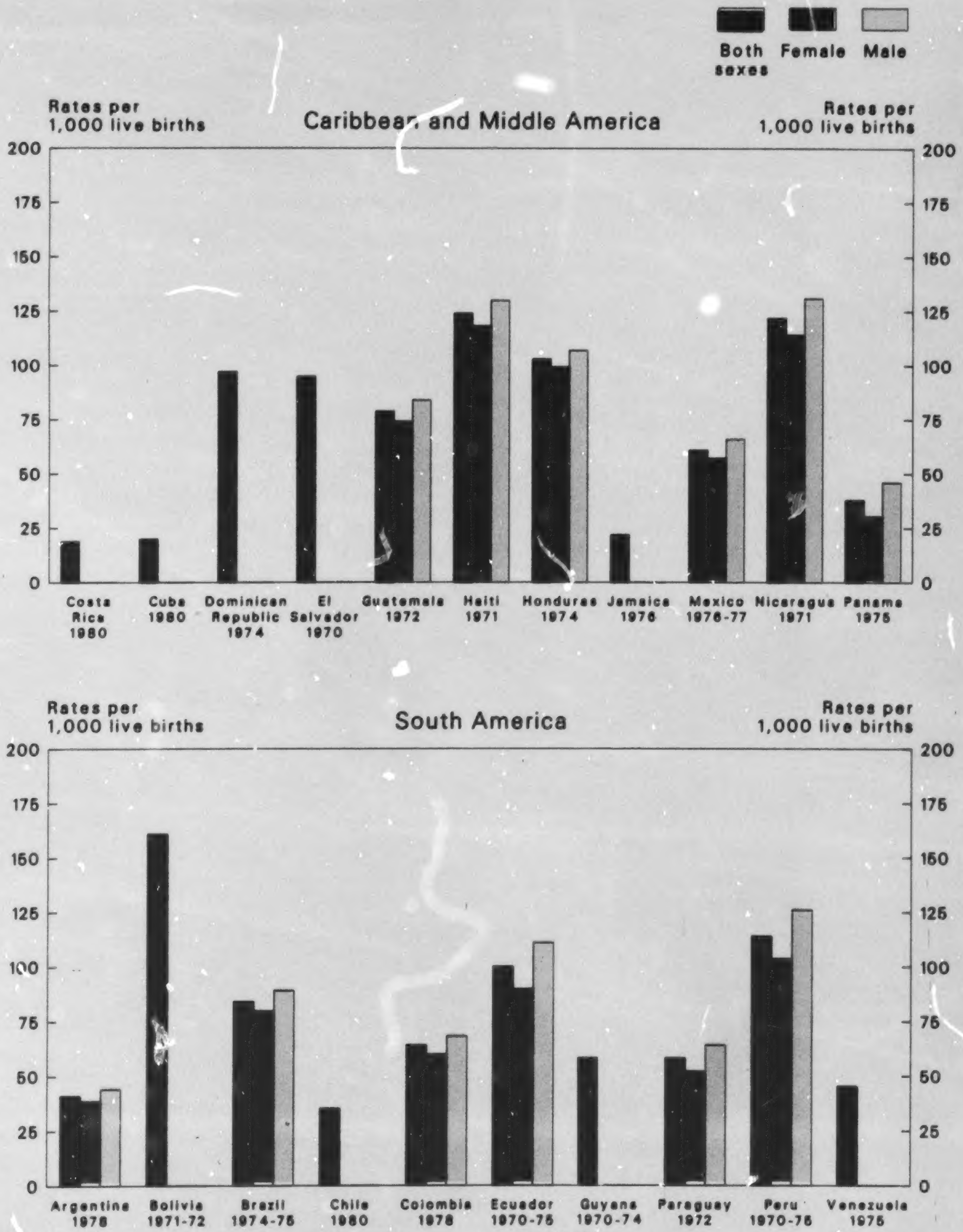

Figure 7.5. Proportion of Children Dying Before Their Fifth Birthday, by Sex

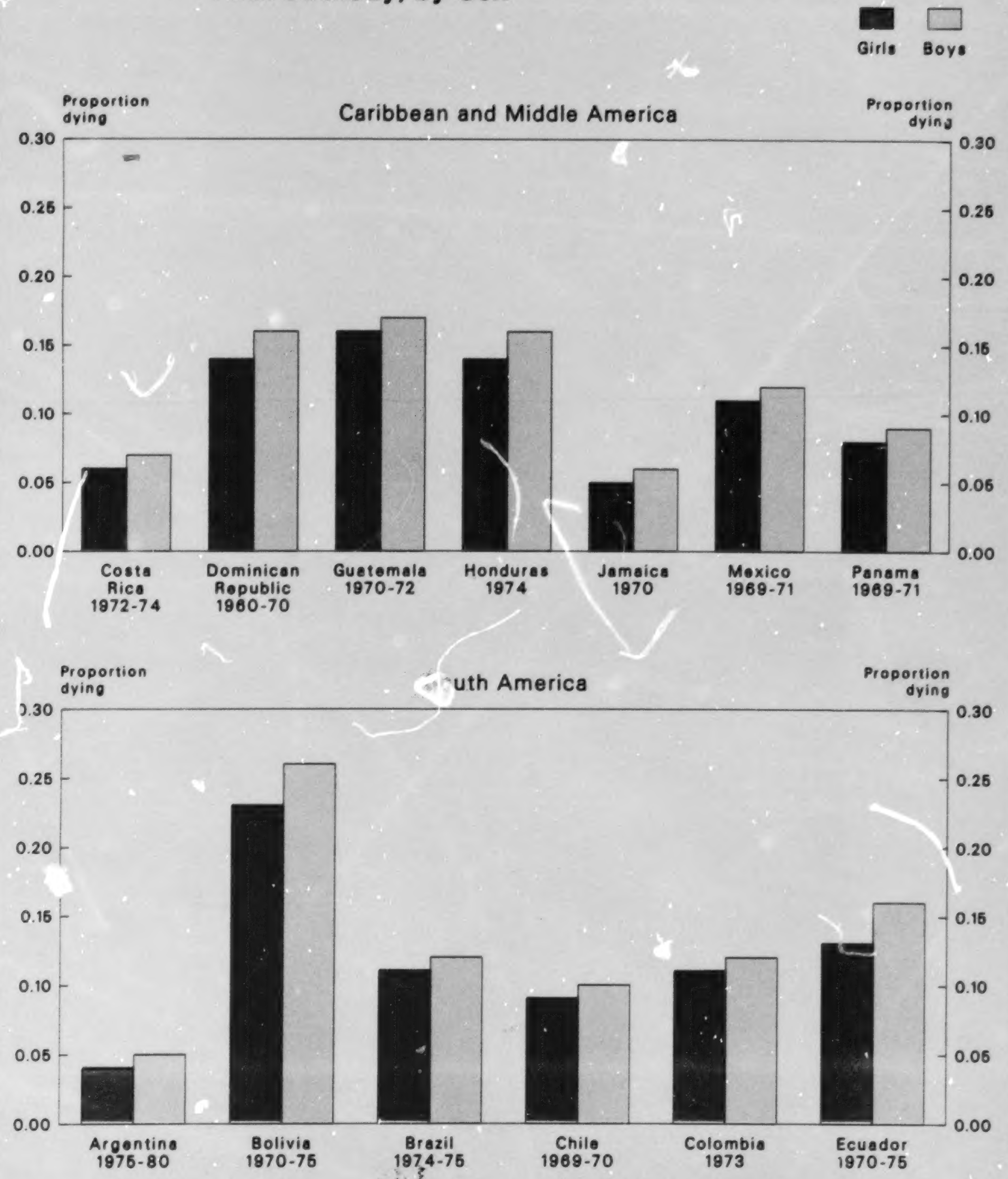

Table 7.1. Crude Birth Rate, Total Fertility Rate, Gross Reproduction Rate, and Net Reproduction Rate

Region and country	Year	CBR	TFR	GRR	NRR
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba	1975-80	[1]14	2.18	1.06	1.00
Dominican Republic	1974-75	40	5.85	2.85	[2]2.36
Haiti	1974-77	[3]44	5.48	3.00	(NA)
Jamaica	1976	29	4.32	[4]2.61	[4]2.44
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica	1980	29	3.50	1.71	(NA)
El Salvador	1978	43	6.30	(NA)	(NA)
Guatemala	1978	44	5.90	[5]2.80	[5]2.19
Honduras	1974	48	7.02	3.42	2.71
Mexico	1978	[1]33	5.18	2.44	(NA)
Nicaragua	1970-75	[6]47	6.92	(NA)	(NA)
Panama	1979	29	4.00	1.96	[7]1.97
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina	1970	[8]25	3.20	1.56	1.43
Bolivia	1976	46	[9]6.40	[3]3.32	(NA)
Brazil	1976-77	[10]31	[10]4.25	2.15	[4]2.16
Chile	1975	[11]24	3.00	1.47	1.35
Colombia	1980	28	3.60	1.77	(NA)
Ecuador	1965-70	44	6.80	3.32	2.58
Guyana	1974	[8]28	4.36	2.15	(NA)
Paraguay	1972	37	5.82	2.84	2.52
Peru	1977-78	[12]36	[12]5.29	[12]2.58	[12]2.02
Venezuela	1979	37	4.68	2.28	2.11

[1] Refers to 1980.
[2] Refers to 1969-70.
[3] Refers to 1965-70.
[4] Refers to 1970.
[5] Refers to 1973.
[6] Refers to 1976.
[7] Refers to 1975.
[8] Refers to 1978.
[9] Refers to the lower limit of an estimated range; the upper limit figure for TFR is 6.70.
[10] Refers to the lower limit of an estimated range; the upper limit figures are CBR, 33; TFR, 4.55.
[11] From U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a, table 1, p. 16.
[12] Refers to the lower limit of an estimated range; the upper limit figures are CBR, 41; TFR, 5.88; GRR, 2.87; NRR, 2.25.

Table 7.2. Total Fertility Rate and Crude Birth Rate, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total fertility rate		Crude birth rate	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba........................	1977	2.70	2.10	(NA)	(NA)
Dominican Republic..........	1969-70	7.50	4.70	44	37
MIDDLE AMERICA					
El Salvador.................	1978	8.40	2.60	51	27
Guatemala...................	1978	[1]6.50	[2]3.80	[1]45	[2]34
Honduras....................	1974	8.47	5.16	[3]54	[3]38
Mexico......................	1978	6.56	4.18	[4]50	[4]41
Panama......................	1979	5.40	2.80	32	25
SOUTH AMERICA					
Bolivia.....................	1976	7.84	[5]5.83	(NA)	(NA)
Colombia....................	1980	5.14	3.03	(NA)	(NA)

[1] Refers to Ladino areas only; TFR for a second rural category (Indian areas) is 6.4.
[2] Refers to the department of Guatemala only (including capital city).
[3] Refers to 1971/72.
[4] Refers to 1970.
[5] Except the capital, La Paz, where the TFR is 4.76.

Table 7.3. Percent Distribution of Lifetime Fertility, by Age of Mother

(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	All ages	Under 25 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba	1975-80	100.0	53.0	37.8	9.2
Dominican Republic	1974-75	100.0	33.5	43.5	23.0
Haiti	1965-70	100.0	29.0	45.2	25.8
Jamaica	1976	100.0	42.3	41.4	16.3
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica	1980	100.0	41.7	42.6	15.7
El Salvador	1971	100.0	36.9	41.3	21.7
Guatemala	1973	100.0	34.7	42.7	22.6
Honduras	1971-72	100.0	32.3	43.2	24.6
Mexico	1978	100.0	35.4	44.2	20.4
Nicaragua	1970-75	100.0	35.0	45.2	19.9
Panama	1975	100.0	41.0	41.8	17.3
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina	1970	100.0	36.6	46.9	16.6
Bolivia	1975	100.0	24.3	48.2	27.5
Brazil[1]	1976-77	100.0	29.3	47.0	23.7
Chile	1975	100.0	41.2	42.0	16.8
Colombia	1980	100.0	34.4	43.9	21.7
Ecuador	1965-70	100.0	27.9	44.4	27.6
Guyana	1970-74	100.0	38.8	43.5	17.8
Paraguay	1970-74	100.0	26.0	45.5	28.5
Peru[2]	1977-78	100.0	30.2	45.9	24.0
Venezuela	1979	100.0	37.6	42.9	19.5

[1] Represents the lower limit of an estimated range; distribution of the upper limit fertility in the same age groups is almost identical.

[2] Represents the lower limit of an estimated range; distribution of the upper limit fertility in the same age groups is 30.0; 45.7, and 24.2 percent.

Table 7.4. Percent Distribution of Lifetime Fertility, by Age of Mother, for Rural and Urban Areas
(Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Rural				Urban			
		All ages	Under 25 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over	All ages	Under 25 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over
CARIBBEAN									
Dominican Republic.........	1969-70	100.0	26.9	44.9	28.2	100.0	29.1	46.8	24.1
MIDDLE AMERICA									
El Salvador.................	1971	100.0	36.0	40.2	23.8	100.0	38.5	43.0	18.4
Honduras....................	1971-72	100.0	32.1	42.3	25.6	100.0	34.4	44.4	21.2
Mexico......................	1978	100.0	32.6	46.0	21.5	100.0	38.4	43.2	18.4
SOUTH AMERICA									
Bolivia.....................	1975	100.0	22.6	46.8	30.6	100.0	26.9	51.4	21.7
Colombia....................	1980	100.0	32.0	42.0	26.0	100.0	36.3	45.2	18.5

Table 7.5. Life Expectancy at Birth and at Age 1 Year for Women and Men, and Female/Male Ratio of Life Expectancies

Region and country	Year	e_0		e_1		F/M ratio (male=1.00)	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	e_0	e_1
CARIBBEAN							
Cuba........................	1969-71	71.8	68.6	73.7	71.1	1.05	1.04
Dominican Republic..........	1960-70	56.0	52.6	60.7	58.1	1.06	1.04
Haiti.......................	1970-71	48.3	47.6	54.1	54.2	1.01	1.00
Jamaica.....................	1970	69.1	65.5	70.4	67.2	1.05	1.05
MIDDLE AMERICA							
Costa Rica..................	1972-74	70.2	66.2	72.3	69.0	1.06	1.05
Guatemala...................	1970-72	53.9	51.8	57.5	56.0	1.04	1.03
Honduras....................	1974	57.0	52.3	62.3	57.5	1.09	1.08
Mexico......................	1970	62.7	58.6	66.6	63.1	1.07	1.06
Nicaragua...................	1971	54.9	51.9	61.6	58.6	1.06	1.05
Panama......................	1975	71.3	67.0	72.5	69.2	1.06	1.05
SOUTH AMERICA							
Argentina...................	1969-70	69.2	61.8	72.0	64.9	1.12	1.11
Bolivia.....................	1975	49.0	44.6	56.0	52.2	1.10	1.07
Brazil......................	1974-75	63.0	58.1	67.4	62.7	1.08	1.07
Chile.......................	1969-70	64.7	58.5	68.9	63.2	1.11	1.09
Colombia....................	1975	62.3	58.7	65.3	62.1	1.06	1.05
Ecuador.....................	1970-75	59.1	55.2	63.8	61.0	1.07	1.05
Guyana......................	1970	66.2	61.4	68.3	63.9	1.08	1.07
Paraguay....................	1972	68.3	63.9	71.0	67.3	1.07	1.05
Peru........................	1970-75	57.0	53.2	62.5	59.8	1.07	1.05
Venezuela...................	1975	69.7	65.0	71.5	67.3	1.07	1.06

Table 7.6. Number of Years Women May Expect to Outlive Men at Birth and at Age 1 Year, and Male Gains in Life Expectancy Between Birth and Age 1 Year

Region and country	Year	Female/male difference at birth (years)	Female/male difference at 1 year (years)	Male gains between birth and 1 year
CARIBBEAN				
Cuba	1969-71	3.2	2.6	0.6
Dominican Republic	1960-70	3.4	2.6	0.8
Haiti	1970-71	0.7	-0.1	0.8
Jamaica	1970	3.6	3.2	0.4
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica	1972	4.0	3.3	0.7
Guatemala	1970-72	2.1	1.5	0.6
Honduras	1974	4.7	4.8	-0.1
Mexico	1970	4.1	3.5	0.6
Nicaragua	1971	3.0	3.0	0.0
Panama	1975	4.3	3.3	1.0
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	1969-70	7.4	7.1	0.3
Bolivia	1975	4.4	3.8	0.6
Brazil	1974-75	4.9	4.7	0.2
Chile	1969-70	6.2	5.7	0.5
Colombia	1973	3.7	3.2	0.5
Ecuador	1970-75	3.9	2.8	1.1
Guyana	1970	4.8	4.4	0.4
Paraguay	1972	4.4	3.7	0.7
Peru	1970-75	3.8	2.7	1.1
Venezuela	1975	4.7	4.2	0.5

Table 7.7. Infant Mortality Rates per 1,000 Live Births, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Infant Mortality Rates

Region and country	Year	Total	Girls	Boys	F/M ratio (male = 1.00)
CARIBBEAN					
Cuba	1980	20	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Dominican Republic	1974	97	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Haiti	1971	124	118	130	0.91
Jamaica	1976	22	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
MIDDLE AMERICA					
Costa Rica	1980	19	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
El Salvador	1970-71	[1]95	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Guatemala	1972	79	74	84	0.88
Honduras	1974	103	99	107	0.93
Mexico	1976-77	61	57	66	0.86
Nicaragua	1971	122	114	131	0.87
Panama	1975	38	30	46	0.65
SOUTH AMERICA					
Argentina	1978	41	38	44	0.86
Bolivia	1971-72	161	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Brazil	1974-75	84	79	89	0.89
Chile	1980	35	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Colombia	1978	64	59	68	0.87
Ecuador	1970-75	100	89	111	0.80
Guyana	1970-74	58	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Paraguay	1972	58	51	64	0.80
Peru	1970-75	114	103	126	0.82
Venezuela	1975	45	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1] Represents the lower limit of an estimated range; the upper limit is 120.

Table 7.8. Proportion of Children Dying Before Their Fifth Birthday, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Proportion Dying

Region and country	Year	Female	Male	F/M ratio of proportion dying (male=1.00)
CARIBBEAN				
Dominican Republic..............	1960-70	.14	.16	0.89
Jamaica.......................	1970	.05	.06	0.86
MIDDLE AMERICA				
Costa Rica...................	1972-74	.06	.07	0.83
Guatemala....................	1970-72	.16	.17	0.95
Honduras.....................	1974	.14	.16	0.89
Mexico.......................	1969-71	.11	.12	0.91
Panama.......................	1969-71	.08	.09	0.86
SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina....................	1975-80	.04	.05	0.85
Bolivia......................	1970-75	.23	.26	0.88
Brazil.......................	1974-75	.11	.12	0.91
Chile........................	1969-70	.09	.10	0.86
Colombia.....................	1973	.11	.12	0.92
Ecuador......................	1970-75	.13	.16	0.81

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Country Demographic Profiles, and national sources.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

As the preceding analysis has demonstrated, aggregate data sets are a partial, but still very useful source in constructing indicators on the status of women. It is important, however, not only to point out the strengths and limitations of information extracted from national level censuses and surveys, as has been attempted throughout this handbook, but to offer some tentative conclusions on the usefulness of such data sets and how they might be improved. Such improvements depend not only on a better use of data already available, but also on changes in the conceptualization, planning, and execution of the decennial population census and other national level surveys, as well as in the processing and publication of census statistics. The latter task is the more difficult one, since the change of even a phrase in a census questionnaire often takes weeks of negotiation and discussion; even one additional question adds to the complexity and cost of administering an already lengthy instrument. Still, there are mounting pressures at both the international and national levels for modifications—some of them fairly simple ones involving no additional data gathering but only the manner of tabulating and publishing the data—that will make censuses and other national level surveys more useful in yielding necessary information on women.

The remarks offered here cover only a few of the changes that are being contemplated. For excellent syntheses of the latest thinking, the reader is referred to the articles mentioned in chapter 1, in particular to Powers and Youssef (both 1983).

The first difficulty encountered in using data from the census or other national surveys conducted at one point in time is that these instruments cannot give any direct measures of change. Yet time series data are essential in assessing women's situation. Data taken at two, or preferably three, different times are minimally necessary to establish trends with any degree of confidence. However, changes in classifications and definitions from one census to the next make the assembly of data from two or three censuses into a comparable data set an extremely frustrating effort, and the results frequently are not comparable either across countries or even between two censuses in the same country without intricate adjustments. The difficulties in attempting to construct time series data from census sources are, of course, not confined to information on women. Because the WID Data Base does not include much 1960 census round data, these problems did not arise in writing the handbooks. As the 1980 data are added, however, there will be many tedious obstacles to overcome in order to make the information comparable from one period to the next.

So far as basic demographic information is concerned, disaggregations by sex, age, and rural/urban residence still leave one with extremely crude categories. Moreover, definitions of rural and urban differ markedly not only among countries, but sometimes between censuses in the same country, making it difficult to carry out either cross-national comparisons or rural/urban changes over time. Age data, too, are unreliable in many countries, particularly for female infants and elderly women in the population. Demographers have devised ingenious statistical methods to improve age data, but the undercounting of children, particularly female infants, in the census needs to be rectified (Nortman, 1982, p. 14).

Any generalizations made on disaggregations by age and residence without further refinements may be misleading, even when the data are complete and accurate. Further disaggregation, for example by language, ethnic group, and religion, were contemplated for the WID Data Base, but the complexity of the task overall and the paucity of data for many countries led to the postponement of such detail for a possible later effort. So far as socioeconomic class is concerned, this is a crucial variable that a census can deal with only by inference; the problem is that information on which to base any socioeconomic classification (in addition to language and ethnic affiliation, such factors as income, occupation or professions, and land ownership are useful) also is deficient, especially in the case of women. In sum, country level data can provide useful information on orders of magnitude, but further disaggregations are needed beyond sex, age, and residence in order to construct truly discriminating indicators. It would be helpful if the WID Data Base in the future would incorporate additional variables to enable the rather crude categories in the present 19 raw data tables to be further refined.

Education variables in the WID Data Base—literacy and current enrollment— are somewhat ambiguous measures of educational level for reasons that were discussed at length in chapter 4. Complementary statistics that could be incorporated in the future include educational attainment, as well as statistics on dropout rates by sex. It would be extremely useful to have additional information on women enrolled in (and graduated from) the regular secondary school curriculum versus vocational education and the university faculties in which women are enrolled or from which women in the present population have been graduated. Such detailed information is not always available from the population census and should be complemented whenever possible with statistics from other sources.

Household head and marital status data often are quite unreliable. As indicated in chapter 6, there are often cultural reasons for designating any man in residence as the household head and for defining any cohabitating couple as legally married. Additionally, because of the implications of inequality in the notion of headship, there has been a movement to eliminate head-of-household designations from the census questionnaire. From the point of view of feminist sensibilities, the elimination makes sense, but the loss of the head-of-household category would mean that an important indicator of women's status will no longer be available.

Questions on women's economic activities (for example, of what their productive work consists, and how it should be measured) have elicited the greatest amount of comment and concern, both in written articles and reports and in conferences and meetings. Unless and until there are drastic changes in the definition of work, the referenced time period, the hours worked, and in accounting for the multiplicity of women's economic roles, women's economic activities will remain undercounted in census and labor force surveys. This is true with respect to both their nonmarket productive work within the household, and their remunerated work outside the home. No suggestion is being made here that all of women's activities should be assigned a market value and counted, but as the International Center for Research on Women and others have suggested, at a minimum a useful definition of home production would include those activities that have the potential of being transferred to the marketplace. Additionally, careful attention must be paid to women's employment in the informal sector, to questions of underemployment and unemployment (Youssef, 1983, pp. 32-35), and to the category of unpaid family worker.

In the meantime, it will be important to employ approaches in other kinds of surveys that capture the full range of women's economic activities. Because rural women often undervalue their contribution and do not consider their work economic, they may be queried about a list of activities that women engage in, rather than asking them if they work. In addition, because women's work is often seasonal, their activities may be examined during the cycle of the family's principal cash crop and at the time of the survey. A growing number of studies are utilizing such techniques (Laird, 1979).

More accurate information on fertility and mortality rates, as well as life expectancy levels, depends not only on the census and special surveys, but in the long term, on improvement in vital statistics registration. These are matters over which the compilers of data bases have little control, and they can only hope that recent trends in the improvement of such statistics will continue, as the population is encouraged to report the births and deaths of all family members to the proper authorities.

Several interesting recommendations have been made by other authors already cited. As Powers (1983, p. 19) cautions, it is important to emphasize that simple disaggregation by sex will not automatically make available the necessary base line data for constructing valid indicators from censuses, nor will any single indicator adequately describe the position of women in their societies. One of the most important steps in constructing more sophisticated indicators would be the tabulation of the female population, not only by age and one other variable (as is the common practice), but up to and including five or six key variables: economic activity, age, marital status, number of children, educational attainment, and migratory status (Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman, 1979, p. 95).

Data on employment status by age and sex are now available, but only a few countries cross tabulate economic activity by any of the other variables that strongly influence women's entry into waged labor. For example, the female economically active population in censuses around 1970 is tabulated by marital status and age in only 10 of the 24 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean; by age and rural/urban residence in 12 countries; by age and educational attainment in 7 countries; and by age, marital status, and number of children in only 2 countries. Economic activity is not tabulated in any country by the following variables: migratory status, relation to household head (male or female), presence or absence of other adults, occupation of household head (male or female), or economic activity status of other family members (ibid., table II, p. 131). It is important to point out that these additional tabulations do not require any alterations in the census questionnaire, but only further processing of the data already collected.

The final conclusion to be drawn from the exploratory data analysis in this handbook is one that closely accords with those reached in other recent appraisals. As Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman note (ibid., p. 95), in spite of the difficulties encountered, it should not be concluded that the census in Latin America and the Caribbean necessarily is a poor instrument for measuring women's economic and other activities; the proof is that censuses taken in other regions have successfully reported women's situation. As Powers notes, even if all the indicators on the situation of women that have been suggested were to become available, in themselves they would not lead to automatic improvement in women's status. Nevertheless, she says:

> to the extent that individual nations develop and regularly publish some of the indicators most appropriate to their own situations, they will be better able to accurately describe the status of women in significant areas of social life and to monitor changes in those statuses. It will also be possible to evaluate the progress that has been made within nations and to compare nations around the world (1983, p. 48).

Appendix A

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Appendix B

Tables in the Women in Development Data Base

The Women In Development Data Base (see discussion in chapter 2) contains the following tables for each of 120 countries worldwide. For most tables, statistics for each country refer to the latest available year. Exceptions are tables 1 and 2, which are presented for the latest two census years, and tables 8, 14A, and 14B, for which data ara prosented for a series of years. For some countries, updated tables are included if new information became available after the initial data were compiled. For further information on the WID Data Base, write the Chief, Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

Tables

1. Unadjusted Population by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____. (earlier census)

2. Unadjusted Population by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____. (latest census)

3. Adjusted Population by Age and Sex, 19____. (earlier census)

4. Adjusted Population by Age and Sex, 19____. (latest census)

5. Population by Province, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6A. Population by Ethnic Group, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6B. Population by Religion, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6C. Population by Nationality, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6D. Population by Language, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

7. Life Expectancy at Selected Ages, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

8. Selected Mortality Measures, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____ to 19____.

9. Percent of Native-born Population Born Outside of Province of Current Residence, by Age and Sex, 19____.

10A. Total Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Marital Status, Age, and Sex, 19____.

10B. Urban Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Marital Status, Age, and Sex, 19____.

10C. Rural Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Marital Status, Age, and Sex, 19____.

11. Minimum Legal Age at Marriage and Age at which Specified Percent Are Ever Married, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

12. Number of Households by Size, Mean Size, and Median Size, by Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

13. Heads of Household 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

14A. Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1000 women), by Urban/Rural Residence, 19____ to 19____.

14B. Selected Fertility Measures, by Urban/Rural Residence, 19____ to 19____.

15A. Number of Literate Persons 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

15B. Population Bases for Percentages in Table 15C, 19____.

15C. Percentage Literate 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

16A. Number of Persons Enrolled in School 5 to 24 Years Old, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

16B. Population Bases for Percentages in Table 16C, 19____.

16C. Percentage Enrolled in School 5 to 24 Years Old, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

17A. Number of Economically Active Persons 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

17B. Population Bases for Percentages in Table 17C, 19____.

17C. Percentage Economically Active 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

18. Economically Active Population by Status in Employment, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

19. Income Distribution and Median Income, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

Appendix C

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence

Many of the tables and figures in this report present rates and ratios for the population in particular age groups. This appendix provides the populations upon which such rates and ratios are based.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
CARIBBEAN						
CUBA: 1981[1]						
All ages	4,796,783	4,909,586	1,406,835	1,600,963	3,389,948	3,308,623
0 to 16 years.........	1,660,884	1,734,043	583,438	618,834	1,077,446	1,115,209
17 to 29 years........	1,103,490	1,113,190	332,197	365,421	771,293	747,769
30 to 34 years........	926,085	922,668	237,927	267,035	688,158	655,633
45 to 59 years........	592,445	596,951	144,856	179,987	447,589	416,964
60 years and over.....	513,879	542,734	108,417	169,686	405,462	373,048
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: 1970						
All ages	2,008,634	2,000,824	1,167,988	1,248,171	840,646	752,653
Under 1 year..........	66,150	69,484	42,527	44,705	23,623	24,779
1 to 4 years..........	269,900	273,812	170,581	174,018	99,319	99,794
5 to 9 years..........	327,023	330,644	204,222	210,521	122,801	120,123
10 to 14 years........	285,516	286,289	170,681	183,374	114,835	102,915
15 to 19 years........	233,589	210,537	125,269	128,233	108,320	82,304
20 to 24 years........	172,139	156,923	90,459	91,424	81,680	65,499
25 to 29 years........	127,215	116,822	68,926	68,065	58,289	48,757
30 to 34 years........	106,070	104,141	58,454	60,242	47,616	43,899
35 to 39 years........	104,765	102,489	59,050	62,453	45,715	40,036
40 to 44 years........	81,297	91,178	46,157	56,379	35,140	34,799
45 to 49 years........	57,991	63,084	31,906	39,397	26,085	23,687
50 to 54 years........	51,368	58,133	29,490	38,098	21,878	20,035
55 to 59 years........	29,861	35,669	15,745	22,482	14,116	13,187
60 to 64 years........	34,050	38,924	19,798	26,291	14,252	12,633
65 years and over.....	61,700	62,695	34,723	42,489	26,977	20,206
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
HAITI: 1971						
All ages	2,233,858	2,080,770	1,729,571	1,705,349	504,287	375,421
Under 1 year..........	76,480	73,134	65,149	61,352	11,331	11,782
1 to 4 years..........	225,854	230,360	186,941	190,465	38,913	39,895
5 to 9 years..........	296,704	292,117	237,363	238,541	59,341	53,576
10 to 14 years........	294,099	300,150	215,056	241,259	79,043	58,891
15 to 19 years........	250,250	229,500	176,579	180,744	73,671	48,756
20 to 24 years........	181,402	152,479	129,923	120,877	51,479	31,602
25 to 29 years........	167,102	131,346	126,287	107,193	40,815	24,153
30 to 34 years........	126,317	103,082	97,087	83,556	29,230	19,526
35 to 39 years........	147,710	121,190	120,481	101,291	27,229	19,899
40 to 44 years........	109,330	105,066	86,825	87,030	22,505	18,036
45 to 49 years........	90,020	94,448	71,513	79,941	18,507	14,507
50 to 54 years........	66,004	70,571	52,968	60,318	13,036	10,253
55 to 59 years........	43,786	45,433	34,553	38,218	9,233	7,215
60 to 64 years........	48,295	46,614	39,356	40,399	8,939	6,215
65 years and over.....	110,505	85,280	89,490	74,165	21,015	11,115
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
JAMAICA: 1970[2]						
All ages	927,700	885,900				
Under 1 year..........	27,100	27,500				
1 to 4 years..........	115,400	117,200				
5 to 9 years..........	149,800	151,100				
10 to 14 years........	121,400	122,700				
15 to 19 years........	84,700	81,200				
20 to 24 years........	66,600	59,400				
25 to 29 years........	52,800	48,900				
30 to 34 years........	48,500	38,500				
35 to 39 years........	43,100	37,500				
40 to 44 years........	40,500	37,000				
45 to 49 years........	35,800	33,300				
50 to 54 years........	35,000	32,300				
55 to 59 years........	29,600	29,200				
60 to 64 years........	27,200	25,400				
65 years and over.....	56,200	44,700				
Unknown age...........	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
MIDDLE AMERICA						
COSTA RICA: 1973						
All ages	933,245	938,535	533,867	577,834	399,378	360,701
Under 1 year..........	24,638	25,495	16,218	16,718	8,420	8,777
1 to 4 years..........	103,049	105,753	68,858	70,756	34,191	34,997
5 to 9 years..........	142,049	146,964	93,382	97,120	48,667	49,844
10 to 14 years........	135,910	140,604	83,362	88,789	52,548	51,815
15 to 19 years........	111,413	111,239	59,145	66,308	52,268	44,931
20 to 24 years........	84,946	82,177	43,658	47,731	41,288	34,446
25 to 29 years........	63,137	60,636	33,183	35,349	29,954	25,287
30 to 34 years........	50,432	50,312	27,131	29,768	23,301	20,544
35 to 39 years........	46,530	44,298	24,910	26,224	21,620	18,074
40 to 44 years........	39,615	39,875	20,787	23,224	18,828	16,651
45 to 49 years........	31,750	32,039	16,161	18,552	15,589	13,487
50 to 54 years........	27,313	27,090	13,635	15,884	13,678	11,206
55 to 59 years........	20,169	20,234	9,737	11,533	10,432	8,701
60 to 64 years........	18,998	19,117	8,897	11,209	10,101	7,908
65 years and over.....	33,296	32,702	14,803	18,669	18,493	14,033
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
EL SALVADOR: 1971						
All ages	1,791,458	1,763,190	1,050,168	1,098,948	741,290	664,242
Under 1 year..........	64,001	64,196	43,486	43,256	20,515	20,940
1 to 4 years..........	232,628	236,482	154,886	158,362	77,742	78,120
5 to 9 years..........	285,232	296,365	184,257	195,538	100,975	100,827
10 to 14 years........	230,068	241,719	139,465	151,309	90,603	90,410
15 to 19 years........	184,258	175,330	97,986	101,431	85,272	73,899
20 to 24 years........	152,901	143,311	81,683	82,557	71,218	60,754
25 to 29 years........	120,741	109,384	69,130	65,047	51,611	44,337
30 to 34 years........	100,631	99,080	56,832	60,753	43,799	38,327
35 to 39 years........	95,422	90,687	54,646	57,180	40,776	33,507
40 to 44 years........	76,661	74,454	41,969	45,467	34,692	28,987
45 to 49 years........	62,773	58,998	33,858	35,533	28,915	23,465
50 to 54 years........	50,561	47,725	26,272	28,332	24,289	19,393
55 to 59 years........	36,146	33,863	18,438	20,187	17,708	13,676
60 to 64 years........	34,099	33,825	17,040	20,367	17,059	13,458
65 years and over.....	65,257	57,765	30,153	33,623	35,104	24,142
Unknown age...........	79	6	67	6	12	-

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
GUATEMALA: 1973						
All ages	2,570,957	2,589,264	1,598,451	1,683,579	972,506	905,685
Under 1 year..........	106,434	108,876	74,955	76,839	31,479	32,037
1 to 4 years..........	324,372	330,695	221,456	225,980	102,916	104,715
5 to 9 years..........	382,669	395,066	255,056	265,832	127,613	129,234
10 to 14 years........	329,722	348,438	207,526	227,327	122,196	121,111
15 to 19 years........	285,590	274,689	167,890	172,875	117,700	101,814
20 to 24 years........	239,281	230,991	140,363	142,701	98,918	88,290
25 to 29 years........	178,339	168,921	106,919	106,277	71,420	62,644
30 to 34 years........	141,369	141,113	85,710	90,456	55,659	50,657
35 to 39 years........	137,312	131,001	84,610	85,060	52,702	45,941
40 to 44 years........	113,387	116,391	67,957	75,168	45,430	41,223
45 to 49 years........	91,113	93,389	53,781	60,162	37,332	33,227
50 to 54 years........	71,672	75,332	41,112	47,330	30,560	28,002
55 to 59 years........	48,110	51,555	26,323	31,861	21,787	19,694
60 to 64 years........	46,375	48,651	26,298	30,771	20,077	17,880
65 years and over.....	75,212	74,156	38,495	44,940	36,717	29,216
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
HONDURAS: 1974						
All ages	1,339,641	1,317,307	901,975	921,794	437,666	395,513
Under 1 year..........	58,693	59,636	43,501	44,131	15,192	15,505
1 to 4 years..........	180,939	186,377	131,514	135,389	49,425	50,988
5 to 9 years..........	208,893	215,703	150,326	155,780	58,567	59,923
10 to 14 years........	180,163	186,934	122,417	131,096	57,746	55,838
15 to 19 years........	148,973	139,769	91,843	93,560	57,130	46,209
20 to 24 years........	119,977	108,461	73,465	70,265	46,512	38,196
25 to 29 years........	87,988	79,478	56,112	52,415	31,876	27,063
30 to 34 years........	70,455	67,813	45,967	45,769	24,488	22,044
35 to 39 years........	66,158	61,976	43,852	42,783	22,306	19,193
40 to 44 years........	53,017	50,790	35,559	35,609	17,458	15,181
45 to 49 years........	44,263	43,220	29,618	30,635	14,645	12,585
50 to 54 years........	35,293	34,249	23,366	24,432	11,927	9,817
55 to 59 years........	24,743	24,170	16,258	17,550	8,485	6,620
60 to 64 years........	22,357	23,062	14,440	16,865	7,917	6,197
65 years and over.....	37,729	35,669	23,737	25,515	13,992	10,154
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
MEXICO: 1980[2]						
All ages	34,087,321	33,295,260				
0 to 4 years..........	4,624,248	4,658,995				
5 to 9 years..........	5,078,839	5,196,186				
10 to 14 years........	4,608,639	4,689,988				
15 to 19 years........	3,923,551	3,765,639				
20 to 24 years........	3,177,834	3,005,768				
25 to 29 years........	2,424,126	2,274,698				
30 to 34 years........	1,969,071	1,866,704				
35 to 39 years........	1,756,466	1,632,663				
40 to 44 years........	1,421,200	1,404,058				
45 to 49 years........	1,206,586	1,157,171				
50 to 54 years........	975,308	935,829				
55 to 59 years........	749,369	736,729				
60 to 64 years........	581,808	541,369				
65 years and over.....	1,492,997	1,325,391				
Unknown age...........	97,279	104,072				
NICARAGUA: 1971						
All ages	956,409	921,543	474,889	506,685	481,520	414,858
0 to 4 years..........	159,120	163,130	89,157	92,137	69,963	70,993
5 to 9 years..........	156,030	158,274	84,273	87,964	71,757	70,310
10 to 14 years........	130,635	135,483	65,126	73,175	65,509	62,308
15 to 19 years........	105,898	98,347	48,054	52,140	57,844	46,207
20 to 24 years........	81,918	73,247	38,297	39,619	43,621	33,628
25 to 29 years........	65,271	56,807	32,420	31,976	32,851	24,831
30 to 34 years........	48,816	45,430	23,608	24,543	25,208	20,887
35 to 39 years........	51,345	46,229	25,107	25,640	26,238	20,589
40 to 44 years........	37,288	36,052	17,291	19,494	19,997	16,558
45 to 49 years........	30,560	28,536	14,357	15,798	16,203	12,738
50 to 54 years........	24,529	23,120	11,346	13,176	13,183	9,944
55 to 59 years........	17,246	15,880	7,084	8,591	10,162	7,289
60 to 64 years........	16,708	15,239	7,377	8,787	9,331	6,452
65 years and over.....	31,045	25,769	11,392	13,645	19,653	12,124
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
PANAMA: 1970						
All ages	704,070	724,012	353,220	395,492	350,850	328,520
Under 1 year..........	22,715	23,655	13,125	13,514	9,590	10,141
1 to 4 years..........	91,009	93,551	53,624	54,739	37,385	38,812
5 to 9 years..........	106,425	108,230	62,029	63,881	44,396	44,349
10 to 14 years........	85,935	88,617	45,672	50,379	40,263	38,238
15 to 19 years........	72,718	71,783	30,582	37,329	42,136	34,454
20 to 24 years........	62,954	62,298	27,264	31,038	35,690	31,260
25 to 29 years........	50,815	50,941	23,275	25,316	27,540	25,625
30 to 34 years........	40,785	41,780	19,335	22,089	21,450	19,691
35 to 39 years........	35,946	37,431	17,357	20,444	18,589	16,987
40 to 44 years........	29,369	31,669	13,608	16,540	15,761	15,129
45 to 49 years........	25,418	28,053	11,680	14,246	13,738	13,807
50 to 54 years........	21,985	24,858	9,997	12,898	11,988	11,960
55 to 59 years........	17,791	20,207	7,799	10,415	9,992	9,792
60 to 64 years........	13,223	14,854	6,207	8,275	7,016	6,579
65 years and over.....	26,982	26,085	11,666	14,389	15,316	11,696
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH AMERICA						
ARGENTINA: 1970[2]						
All ages	11,773,050	11,617,000				
Under 1 year..........	245,350	264,550				
1 to 4 years..........	913,000	932,400				
5 to 9 years..........	1,133,950	1,163,050				
10 to 14 years........	1,086,850	1,114,300				
15 to 19 years........	1,039,850	1,058,850				
20 to 24 years........	980,550	969,950				
25 to 29 years........	860,150	842,550				
30 to 34 years........	795,650	784,700				
35 to 39 years........	767,400	779,000				
40 to 44 years........	769,600	769,500				
45 to 49 years........	698,950	683,550				
50 to 54 years........	584,800	562,300				
55 to 59 years........	549,250	517,800				
60 to 64 years........	454,750	436,050				
65 years and over.....	892,950	738,450				
Unknown age...........	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
BOLIVIA: 1976						
All ages	2,337,457	2,276,029	1,346,615	1,341,031	990,842	934,998
0 to 4 years..........	363,853	369,737	224,417	227,383	139,436	142,354
5 to 9 years..........	314,184	319,725	190,776	195,491	123,408	124,234
10 to 14 years........	265,133	280,699	149,263	164,429	115,870	116,270
15 to 19 years........	248,917	247,639	123,224	126,543	125,693	121,096
20 to 24 years........	209,248	198,700	105,512	101,258	103,736	97,442
25 to 29 years........	176,135	167,060	95,558	92,450	80,577	74,610
30 to 34 years........	138,959	133,708	79,304	77,793	59,655	55,915
35 to 39 years........	126,652	115,616	73,171	70,509	53,481	45,107
40 to 44 years........	101,284	93,457	60,346	57,274	40,938	36,183
45 to 49 years........	100,506	95,821	58,421	58,868	42,085	36,953
50 to 54 years........	74,919	67,142	45,452	41,268	29,467	25,874
55 to 59 years........	58,333	53,346	34,929	34,118	23,404	19,228
60 to 64 years........	53,033	45,980	34,780	31,266	18,253	14,714
65 years and over.....	106,301	87,399	71,462	62,381	34,839	25,018
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
BRAZIL: 1970						
All ages	46,807,694	46,331,343	19,950,535	21,103,518	26,857,159	25,227,825
0 to 4 years..........	6,841,861	6,969,945	3,469,313	3,530,851	3,372,548	3,439,094
5 to 9 years..........	6,659,536	6,799,972	3,201,174	3,298,804	3,458,362	3,501,168
10 to 14 years........	5,924,930	5,934,189	2,679,108	2,802,773	3,245,822	3,131,416
15 to 19 years........	5,257,851	4,995,432	2,187,559	2,303,869	3,070,292	2,691,563
20 to 24 years........	4,248,670	4,037,135	1,686,507	1,758,779	2,562,163	2,278,356
25 to 29 years........	3,330,784	3,173,285	1,316,643	1,367,366	2,014,141	1,805,919
30 to 34 years........	2,864,283	2,800,657	1,095,058	1,160,114	1,769,225	1,640,543
35 to 39 years........	2,587,189	2,502,123	987,423	1,026,145	1,599,766	1,475,978
40 to 44 years........	2,247,332	2,288,260	839,038	942,069	1,408,294	1,346,191
45 to 49 years........	1,751,654	1,795,031	658,158	749,684	1,093,496	1,045,347
50 to 54 years........	1,453,992	1,486,365	550,001	643,796	903,991	842,569
55 to 59 years........	1,128,221	1,160,154	404,200	498,774	724,021	661,380
60 to 64 years........	887,874	903,253	318,673	392,808	569,201	510,445
65 years and over.....	1,532,343	1,392,738	522,159	589,268	1,010,184	803,470
Unknown age...........	91,174	92,804	35,521	38,418	55,653	54,386

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
CHILE: 1970						
All ages	4,541,256	4,343,512	1,039,442	1,170,189	3,501,814	3,173,323
Under 1 year..........	97,828	100,958	26,676	27,508	71,152	73,450
1 to 4 years..........	457,773	466,275	133,767	136,106	324,006	330,169
5 to 9 years..........	619,796	624,134	169,513	176,141	450,283	447,993
10 to 14 years........	554,819	559,559	140,325	154,373	414,494	405,186
15 to 19 years........	466,736	446,729	96,166	116,646	370,570	330,083
20 to 24 years........	398,383	370,653	73,992	92,407	324,391	278,246
25 to 29 years........	324,130	301,862	61,121	71,854	263,009	230,008
30 to 34 years........	267,312	249,409	52,598	61,021	214,714	188,388
35 to 39 years........	267,078	247,473	52,562	59,803	214,516	187,670
40 to 44 years........	232,778	223,014	46,794	55,657	185,984	167,357
45 to 49 years........	184,593	172,260	39,615	45,723	144,978	126,537
50 to 54 years........	163,277	149,338	35,563	42,434	127,714	106,904
55 to 59 years........	141,449	127,242	30,927	38,373	110,522	88,869
60 to 64 years........	117,484	105,715	25,937	32,779	91,547	72,936
65 years and over.....	247,820	198,891	53,886	59,364	193,934	139,527
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
COLOMBIA: 1973						
All ages	10,542,526	10,124,394	3,839,290	4,219,781	6,703,236	5,904,613
Under 1 year..........	255,578	264,911	115,344	119,998	140,234	144,913
1 to 4 years..........	1,459,438	1,497,027	663,450	685,117	795,988	811,910
5 to 9 years..........	1,585,484	1,611,705	677,518	708,785	907,966	902,920
10 to 14 years........	1,476,622	1,502,338	546,712	615,127	929,910	887,211
15 to 19 years........	1,276,917	1,162,866	375,339	450,861	901,578	712,005
20 to 24 years........	985,743	869,064	294,275	326,413	691,468	542,651
25 to 29 years........	729,591	661,124	233,542	250,811	496,049	410,313
30 to 34 years........	586,266	553,351	197,282	214,865	388,984	338,486
35 to 39 years........	559,007	489,395	200,038	204,655	358,969	284,740
40 to 44 years........	452,180	435,506	159,318	181,457	292,862	254,049
45 to 49 years........	368,972	339,022	127,495	143,656	241,477	195,366
50 to 54 years........	308,044	300,842	110,944	131,945	197,100	168,897
55 to 59 years........	210,327	207,794	69,443	88,074	140,884	119,720
60 to 64 years........	197,051	191,075	69,726	87,212	127,325	103,863
65 years and over.....	346,884	303,285	114,208	130,803	232,676	172,482
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
ECUADOR: 1974						
All ages	3,263,297	3,258,413	1,859,956	1,963,032	1,403,341	1,295,381
Under 1 year..........	108,803	110,974	70,277	71,472	38,526	39,502
1 to 4 years..........	407,320	416,489	258,289	264,798	149,031	151,691
5 to 9 years..........	485,265	496,003	298,832	308,769	186,433	187,234
10 to 14 years........	430,397	444,997	242,973	266,300	187,424	178,697
15 to 19 years........	353,781	349,437	176,482	195,549	177,299	153,888
20 to 24 years........	295,702	285,006	150,554	158,106	145,148	126,900
25 to 29 years........	225,738	218,276	121,228	123,862	104,510	94,414
30 to 34 years........	180,190	180,233	99,585	106,177	80,605	74,056
35 to 39 years........	164,258	156,986	93,870	96,046	70,388	60,940
40 to 44 years........	139,074	140,305	78,064	84,874	61,010	55,431
45 to 49 years........	109,861	109,588	62,351	66,947	47,510	42,641
50 to 54 years........	93,853	95,706	53,243	59,073	40,610	36,633
55 to 59 years........	66,563	68,394	36,976	41,973	29,587	26,421
60 to 64 years........	70,594	68,210	41,413	43,841	29,181	24,369
65 years and over.....	131,898	117,809	75,819	75,245	56,079	42,564
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
GUYANA: 1970[2]						
All ages	351,996	347,852				
Under 1 year..........	9,057	9,302				
1 to 4 years..........	45,711	46,571				
5 to 9 years..........	58,875	59,637				
10 to 14 years........	50,368	50,225				
15 to 19 years........	39,874	39,509				
20 to 24 years........	28,924	27,711				
25 to 29 years........	20,423	19,336				
30 to 34 years........	17,204	16,263				
35 to 39 years........	16,273	15,491				
40 to 44 years........	14,268	13,994				
45 to 49 years........	12,088	12,523				
50 to 54 years........	9,907	10,130				
55 to 59 years........	8,769	9,502				
60 to 64 years........	6,318	6,491				
65 years and over.....	13,937	11,167				
Unknown age...........	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
PARAGUAY: 1972						
All ages	1,188,844	1,169,111	723,179	752,431	465,665	416,680
Under 1 year..........	39,237	40,568	28,077	28,972	11,160	11,596
1 to 4 years..........	141,573	146,436	100,071	103,625	41,502	42,811
5 to 9 years..........	176,952	183,211	120,345	126,435	56,607	56,776
10 to 14 years........	158,837	168,370	98,041	109,574	60,796	58,796
15 to 19 years........	131,826	130,555	73,684	75,522	58,142	55,033
20 to 24 years........	97,990	93,302	54,527	57,720	43,463	35,582
25 to 29 years........	77,441	72,082	43,847	44,581	33,594	27,501
30 to 34 years........	64,731	62,812	36,873	39,023	27,858	23,789
35 to 39 years........	55,634	50,609	32,238	31,596	23,396	19,013
40 to 44 years........	53,259	52,418	30,053	32,223	23,206	20,195
45 to 49 years........	44,288	40,768	25,078	24,707	19,210	16,061
50 to 54 years........	38,265	36,919	21,533	23,438	16,732	13,481
55 to 59 years........	29,088	26,634	16,018	15,839	13,070	10,795
60 to 64 years........	25,835	23,056	14,011	13,810	11,824	9,246
65 years and over.....	53,888	41,371	28,783	25,366	25,105	16,005
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
PERU: 1972						
All ages	6,753,678	6,784,530	2,723,352	2,756,361	4,030,326	4,028,169
Under 1 year..........	235,652	239,267	106,401	108,035	129,251	131,232
1 to 4 years..........	857,611	868,484	380,963	386,426	476,648	482,058
5 to 9 years..........	1,000,175	1,022,565	437,321	451,776	562,854	570,789
10 to 14 years........	829,093	884,417	329,577	369,413	499,516	515,004
15 to 19 years........	698,185	715,127	233,232	251,634	464,953	463,493
20 to 24 years........	578,620	571,969	194,642	187,352	383,978	384,617
25 to 29 years........	471,501	458,049	174,893	163,928	296,608	294,121
30 to 34 years........	381,363	390,364	147,312	147,424	234,051	242,940
35 to 39 years........	373,277	355,814	152,809	143,136	220,468	212,678
40 to 44 years........	297,789	307,210	119,223	120,965	178,566	186,245
45 to 49 years........	246,223	241,742	103,704	101,167	142,519	140,575
50 to 54 years........	193,251	195,367	81,437	82,349	111,814	113,018
55 to 59 years........	150,654	149,321	63,047	64,633	87,607	84,688
60 to 64 years........	141,240	133,330	63,391	60,871	77,849	72,459
65 years and over.....	284,110	238,375	129,936	112,985	154,174	125,390
Unknown age...........	14,934	13,129	5,464	4,267	9,470	8,862

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
PERU: 1981						
All ages..............	8,548,253	8,456,957	2,973,567	3,002,907	5,574,686	5,454,050
Under 1 year..........	245,866	247,876	102,110	101,943	143,756	145,933
1 to 4 years..........	962,087	985,436	397,453	403,857	564,634	581,579
5 to 9 years..........	1,190,954	1,215,338	466,517	478,429	724,437	736,909
10 to 14 years........	1,071,432	1,110,682	380,780	411,127	690,652	699,555
15 to 19 years........	936,701	910,502	282,939	287,128	653,762	623,374
20 to 24 years........	818,731	777,603	234,892	230,496	583,839	547,107
25 to 29 years........	658,085	615,922	188,594	181,606	469,491	434,316
30 to 34 years........	513,199	505,776	147,891	149,927	365,308	355,849
35 to 39 years........	456,112	430,499	152,514	141,436	303,598	289,063
40 to 44 years........	367,005	372,492	125,960	127,151	241,045	245,341
45 to 49 years........	326,458	318,559	118,852	115,854	207,606	202,705
50 to 54 years........	267,180	268,884	95,116	95,723	172,064	173,161
55 to 59 years........	198,969	203,346	71,679	75,703	127,290	127,643
60 to 64 years........	169,825	166,770	67,078	68,394	102,747	98,376
65 years and over.....	365,649	327,272	141,192	134,133	224,457	193,139
Unknown age...........	-	-	-	-	-	-
VENEZUELA: 1971[2]						
All ages	5,371,811	5,349,711				
0 to 4 years..........	857,083	879,166				
5 to 9 years..........	808,623	825,436				
10 to 14 years........	720,931	733,043				
15 to 19 years........	618,350	601,632				
20 to 24 years........	494,304	468,221				
25 to 29 years........	359,572	339,379				
30 to 34 years........	295,091	292,549				
35 to 39 years........	269,569	269,387				
40 to 44 years........	227,387	242,066				
45 to 49 years........	181,170	192,813				
50 to 54 years........	149,077	154,814				
55 to 59 years........	117,369	115,977				
60 to 64 years........	97,461	93,690				
65 years and over.....	175,824	141,538				
Unknown age...........	-	-				

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[1] Data are not available in conventional 5-year age groups.
[2] Data are not available by rural/urban residence.